

X

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. XVI.

PUBLISHED IN

MARCH & JUNE 1844.



LONDON:

C. DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET:

(Nephew and Successor to J. Booker.)

BOOKER & Co. 37, RANELAGH STREET, LIVERPOOL.

J. CUMMING, DUBLIN:—W. TAIT, EDINBURGH.

1844.



LONDON:
RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

WHEN first the project was formed and carried into execution, of publishing a Quarterly Journal, conducted upon Catholic principles, it was treated by many as a rash undertaking; and even those who most cordially wished it success, scarcely dared to hope that its existence would be prolonged beyond a few years. The fate of every other Catholic literary periodical was confidently foretold to it. Those who undertook the work, however, judged more hopefully. They had a stronger faith in the resources of our body, in its learning, that is, its increasing literature, its growing importance, its expanding knowledge of its own interests, and its rising position in the social scale; and they trusted that an organ which should fitly represent its feelings, its principles, and its legitimate aims, could not fail to be adequately encouraged. Still it was an experiment requiring some resolution; and, with one distinguished exception, they who made it could then advance little claim to the confidence of the Catholic public, beyond their upright motives and zealous intentions.

But now that the DUBLIN REVIEW has passed its thirtieth number, and has reached the eighth year of its existence, its Conductors feel that they may more justly and more confidently appeal to their Catholic brethren, for encouragement and support. The object of their appeal, however, is to solicit, not pecuniary assistance, but kind exertions to increase the circulation of the work, from such as already subscribe to it, and subscription from such as till now have foreborne to procure it. The clergy, in particular, have it much in their power to advance its prosperity,—by recommending it among their flocks, by giving it a place in their lending libraries, and by inducing several persons to unite in one subscription.

It will not be out of place to enumerate some of the grounds on which the REVIEW lays claim to the general interest of Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland, and may seem not unworthy of their support:—

1. It pleased Divine Providence that the REVIEW should first appear at a time when most important controversies were springing up in the English Church, controversies of which the seed was then only cast, the germ had hardly appeared, but which were by degrees to grow up, expand, and form most interesting features in the religious history of our age. The REVIEW was early instrumental in turning the attention of Catholics to this great movement; it has kept it steadily in sight through every change; has pointed out the advantages to be derived from its progress; and perhaps alone has discussed its new questions, and proposed arguments to meet its fallacies. It may not be presumptuous to say, that without such a channel, much interesting religious information would not have easily reached the great body of Catholics.

2. Nor has the REVIEW been wanting in attention to other great topics of the day, connected with the progress of Catholicity. The revival of

Christian art, and the excitement of its kindred feelings, have not been merely recorded, but promoted and illustrated in its pages.

3. Many important questions, too, relative specifically to Ireland, have been treated in it, by writers intimately acquainted with her wants and her sufferings.

4. The principal religious discussions of other countries have likewise been attended to; while literary and scientific subjects have been handled as fully as in the ordinary reviews.

Such are some of the principal claims which the Conductors of the DUBLIN REVIEW think themselves justified in respectfully advancing to the support of their Catholic brethren. They might add, that its pages have been useful in removing prejudice from the minds of persons separated from them in religion; and that in this respect it has had the advantage (from its quarterly form) of being admitted among a class of readers not usually favourable to Catholic literature.

It would be unbecoming, and it is unnecessary, to urge upon their Catholic friends claims of another character, or relative to the manner in which the REVIEW has been supported till now. That for a time most generous assistance was afforded it by several of the Catholic nobility and gentry, is sufficiently known. But, since the period originally fixed for its continuance expired, the Conductors of the REVIEW have continued it at their own risk; nor could they have done so but for the truly Catholic spirit in which its contributors have acted, putting aside all idea of profit, and seeking no reward for their zealous cooperation, beyond the satisfaction of aiding in the holy cause of their religion. Among the Irish clergy in particular, this noble disinterestedness has been manifested; and to it many of the most valuable articles of the REVIEW are owing. It is the duty of making this acknowledgment, and of so performing an act of justice, and not the desire of giving value to their own personal sacrifices, that suggests to the Conductors of the REVIEW the introduction of this topic. They have continued their labours, as they hope, through higher and better motives than the applause of men or the recompenses of earth; and they will not be deterred from continuing them by partial disapprobation or by personal inconvenience.

But they feel it due to Catholic interests, to call now upon every member of the true Church, and upon its clergy in particular, to cooperate with them, in the spirit of kindness which religious charity must inspire, as brethren, firmly, because lovingly, combined in a common, and most sacred, cause. They entreat them generally, and individually, to consider this publication as the common property of the entire body, not as a private speculation; and to exert themselves, in this view, to secure its continuance and extend its usefulness, by greater efforts to uphold it and increase its circulation. Mr. O'CONNELL, even while engaged in the harassing duty of attending to the late important trial, was good enough to address a circular to all the Irish Clergy, strongly recommending the REVIEW to their notice and patronage, and of which we subjoin a copy. For this—but one of many proofs of his warm interest in the publication—its Conductors feel that they owe him sincere gratitude, which they are glad of this opportunity openly and cordially to express; the more so as his example has suggested to them the propriety of similarly appealing to the Catholic Clergy and Laity of Great Britain.

CONTENTS

OF

No. XXXI.

ART.	PAGE
I.—1. L'Université Catholique. Tomes x. xi. xii. Paris: 1841-2.	
2. L'Union Catholique, Journal Religieux et Politique. Paris: 1842.	
3. Ueber den dermaligen Zustand der Religiösen Institute in Frankreich. [On the Present State of Religious Institutes in France. An Essay in the German journal the <i>Catholic</i> .] Spire: 1841-2.	
4. Sion, eine Religiöse Zeitschrift. Augsburg: 1840-41. [Zion, a Religious Periodical. 1840-41.]	
5. Le Christ devant le Siècle. Par M. Roselly de Lorgues. Paris: 1839. Cinquième édition.	
6. Ueber den Zustand der Katholischen Theologie und Litteratur in Frankreich. [An Essay on the State of Catholic Theology and Literature in France.] In <i>Der Katholik</i> , May 1843 - - 1	
II.—History of the Conquest of Mexico. By W. H. Prescott. 3 vols. London: 1843 - - - 45	
III.—Rome, her Tenets and her Practices. In a Sermon by Richard Mant, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore: Preached November the 5th, 1843, in the Magdalen Asylum Episcopal Church, Belfast; and published at the request of the Congregation. Belfast, Dublin, and London: 1843 - 65	
IV.—1. Symbolism: or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced by their Symbolical Writings. By John Adam Moehler, D.D., Dean of Wurzburg and late Professor of Theology at the University of Munich:	

CONTENTS.

ART.

PAGE

translated from the German, with a Memoir of the Author, preceded by an Historical Sketch of the State of Protestantism and Catholicism in Germany for the last Hundred Years. By James Burton Robertson, Esq., Translator of Schlegel's Philosophy of History. 2 vols. London: 1843.

2. Dr. J. A. Möhler's, ernannten Domdecans zu Würzburg, und Ritters des Königlichen bayerischen St. Michael-Ordens, ehem. ord. Professors der Theologie zu München, gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze; herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Jos. Ign. Dollinger. 2 vols. 8vo. Regensburg: 1839-40 - 93

V.—1. The Nestorians, or Lost Tribes. By Asahel Grant, M.D. 8vo. London: 1843

2. Annals of the Propagation of the Faith. London: 1843-4 - 122

VI.—Tracts relating to Ireland. Vol. II. "A Statute of the 40th Edw. III, in a Parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1361; now first printed, with a translation and notes by James Hardiman, M.R.I.A." - 156

VII.—"Resolved—That alarmed at the report that an attempt is likely to be made during the approaching Session of Parliament, to make a State Provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, we deem it our imperative duty, not to separate without recording the expression of our strongest reprobation of any such attempt, and of our unalterable determination to resist, by every means in our power, a measure so fraught with mischief to the independence and purity of the Catholic Religion in Ireland."—Resolution of the Irish Catholic Bishops in 1837.

"Resolved—That his grace, the most reverend Dr. Murray, be requested to call a special general meeting of the Prelates of all Ireland, in case that he shall have clear proof, or well-grounded apprehension, that the odious and alarming scheme of a State Provision for the Catholic Clergy of this portion of the empire be contemplated by the government before our next general meeting."—Resolution passed in 1841.

"Resolved—That the preceding Resolutions be now re-published, in order to make known to our faithful Clergy and People, and to all others concerned, that our firm determination on this subject remains unchanged; and that we unanimously pledge our-

CONTENTS.

ART.

PAGE

selves to resist, by every influence we possess, every attempt that may be made to make any State Provision for the Catholic Clergy, in whatever shape or form it may be offered."—Resolution moved by the most rev. Dr. Murray, seconded by the most rev. Dr. Slattery, and unanimously adopted, at a meeting of the Irish Catholic Prelates, held in Dublin on the 15th of November 1843, the most rev. Dr. M'Hale being in the chair - - 186

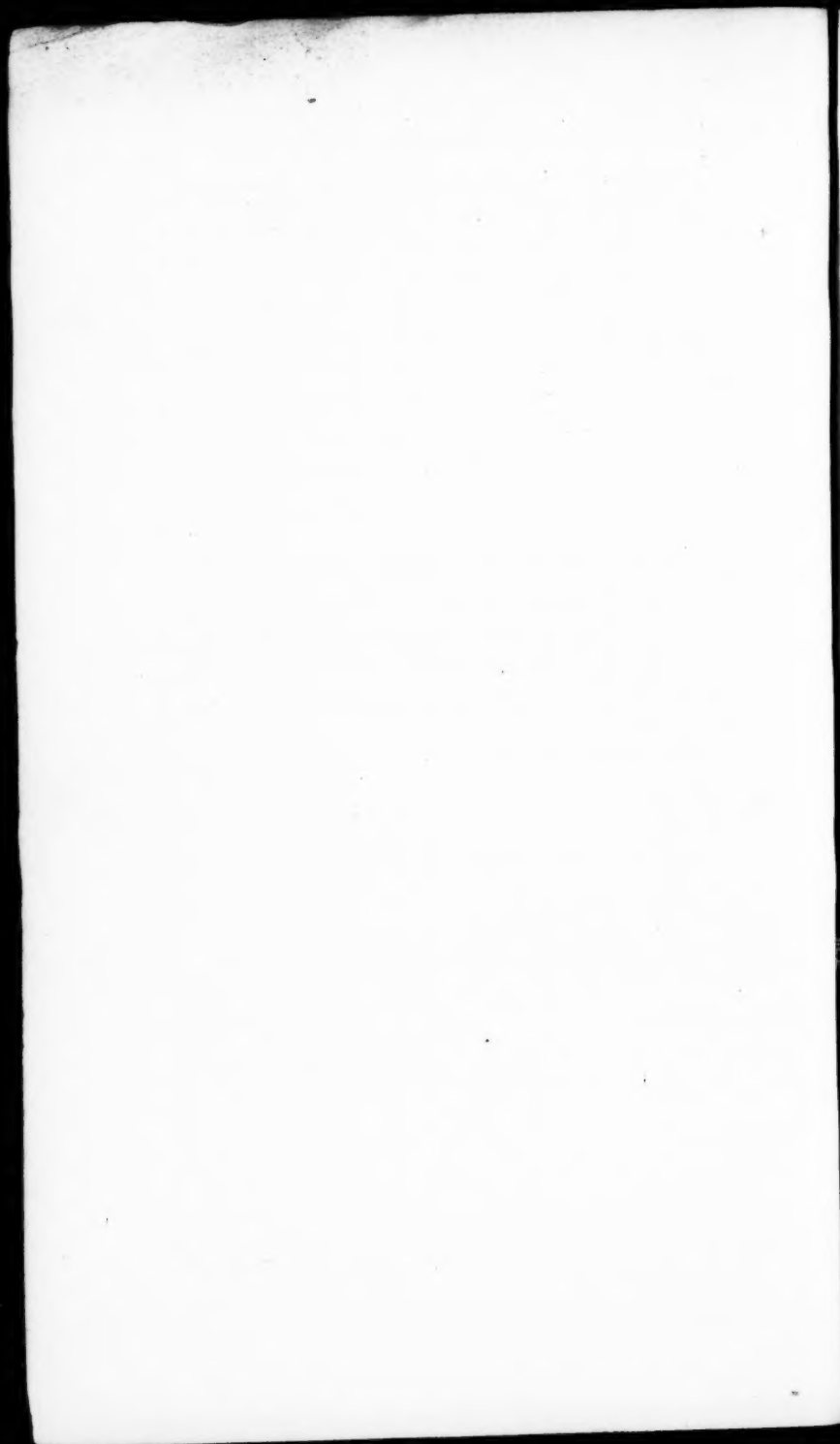
VIII.—1. A Reply to Mr. Montgomery Martin's "Ireland before and after the Union with Great Britain;" being a series of articles taken from the *Dublin Weekly Register*, Edited by M. Staunton, Esq. Dublin: 1844.

2. An Argument for Ireland. By John O'Connell, Esq., M.P. Dublin: 1844 - - - 220

IX.—Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries. Edited from the originals in the British Museum, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c., Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. London: printed for the Camden Society, 1843 - - - 237

Appendix to Article on the "Religious and Social condition of France" - - - 261

Notices of Books - - - 272



THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH 1844.

- ART. I.—1. *L'Université Catholique*. Tomes x. xi. xii. Paris: 1841-2.
2. *L'Union Catholique, Journal Religieux et Politique*. Paris: 1842.
3. *Ueber den dermaligen Zustand der Religiösen Institute in Frankreich*. [On the Present State of Religious Institutes in France. An Essay in the German journal the *Catholic*.] Spires: 1841 2.
4. *Sion, eine Religiöse Zeitschrift*. Augsburg: 1840-1. [Zion, a Religious Periodical. 1840-1.]
5. *Le Christ devant le Siècle*. Par M. Roselly de Lorgues. Paris: 1839. Cinquième édition.
6. *Ueber den Zustand der Katholischen Theologie und Litteratur in Frankreich*. [An Essay on the State of Catholic Theology and Literature in France.] In *Der Katholik*, May 1843.

IN the great catastrophe, which, towards the close of the eighteenth century subverted the French monarchy, it is singular to observe, how every class composing it, paid each in its turn the penalty to Divine justice. The crown, which had long, and more particularly since the reign of Louis XIV, usurped so many rights of the other orders of the state, found at last to its cost how slender was the foundation whereon the structure of absolute power had been raised; and the various encroachments on the privileges of the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, perpetrated by the ambition, the craftiness, or the misguided levity of some of his predecessors, was expiated on the scaffold by the most virtuous of princes. The nobility, which for a century, by the licentious conduct of many of its members, and by the encouragement others had given to an impious philosophy, had spread cor-

ruption among the inferior ranks of society, was now, in exile, in imprisonment, and on the guillotine, doomed to pay the forfeit to God's offended justice. The clergy, many of whose members had by their relaxed and worldly conduct disedified the people; others of whom had been the ardent apostles of Jansenism; and very many of whom had by dangerous doctrines weakened the ties of connection which bound the Church of France to the Holy See, was now also, in the awful persecution that overtook it, bitterly to atone for past offences, and to find the principle of future regeneration. The literati, the academicians, and the lawyers, the chief promoters and most strenuous supporters of this irreligious and anti-social Revolution, fell successively by each other's hand in that bloody arena, where guilt sat in judgment upon guilt. Lastly, the people, that, seduced by those destructive doctrines, had sought its felicity in the subversion of all religious and political power—in the levelling of all social, moral, and intellectual superiority, was now, in proscriptions—in wholesale massacres—in famine—in pestilence—in the horrors of civil conflict—in the protracted misery, hardships, and sufferings of twenty-five years of foreign warfare, to feel the chastening hand of an outraged God.

Our limits will not permit us, as we had first intended, to trace even a rapid historical sketch of the Restoration.

The great problem of the Restoration was to reconstruct the social edifice, harmoniously to combine the new with the ancient order of things, and while it religiously respected the legal interests that had grown up under the Revolution, to discountenance and reprobate the moral and political doctrines of that Revolution. Its great problem was to aid, as far as human power can aid, the return of minds from infidelity to religion—to impart freedom and dignity to the Church, and to foster and promote Christian art, science, and literature.

How that problem was solved, it is not our business here to enquire. But ere we pronounce a judgment on this matter, let us bear in mind the countless difficulties that beset those, whom Divine Providence had charged with that lofty mission. Although, during this whole period, the religious regeneration remained so incomplete, and the political restoration may on the whole be considered a decided failure, (and this is not surprising when we reflect, that during more than one half of this period the men and the doctrines of the Revolution exerted full sway), yet in this epoch, stormy as

it was, were sown the seeds of a better futurity. Here the Church, rising from her ruins, first displayed those energies, which she has since never ceased to exhibit; here arose the mighty spirits, that dethroned infidelity; and here the attempt was made to restore the long-lost type of the old Christian temperate monarchy; and vicious, misguided, nay revolutionary as was the form, wherein that attempt was made, it is one that will exercise a permanent, and ultimately, we trust, a beneficial influence on the future destinies of France.

In the present article, it shall be our endeavour to give a sketch of the religious and social condition of France since the Revolution of 1830. Our information is derived from the testimony of most respectable French writers, and foreign travellers; while a long residence in that country, prior to the last Revolution, has afforded us no inconsiderable insight into the state of its religious, literary, and political parties.

We shall commence with an account of the persecution the Church of France had to endure in the stormy days of 1830 and 1831—then describe the gradual progress of religious regeneration in many classes of French society; next glance at the state of Catholic literature; and conclude with observations on the political condition and prospects of the country.

In the work that stands in the fifth place at the head of our article, "*Le Christ devant le siècle*," and which in a condensed form is a most able refutation of the historical and physical objections of unbelief against the Christian religion,* we find the following vivid description of the evils, that after the political tempest of 1830, befel the Church.

1. "Death is vociferated, says M. Roselly de Lorgues, against the princes of the Church: the asylum of indigence and grief, the hospital of *la pitié*, receives as a mendicant His Grace the archbishop of Paris, whose life is sought after.

"The archbishop of Besançon and the archbishop of Rheims are compelled to take flight; the bishop of Chartres seeks for shelter under a foreign roof; the bishop of Chalons conceals himself in the hospital; the bishops of Perpignan and Marseilles escape death only by quitting their sees with the utmost precipitation.

"At Saint-Sauvant, the curate is brutally torn from the altar, while celebrating mass; at Villeneuve, he is cast into prison;

* This work, in the course of eight years, has gone through six editions, and it is said to be the only religious book the author of which has received a decoration from the government of Louis Philippe.

at Bourbon-Vendée, the vicar is stoned in his bed ; at Matha, he is beaten with sticks. In every department, the like acts of violence are repeated. In a single diocese, sixteen curates ; in another, forty, are in imminent danger of death, and are cast out of their presbyteries.

"Religious antipathy is envenomed by political animosity. From persons the hatred extends to edifices. The church of Blois is violated ; the houses of St. Esprit, St. Lazare, Mount Valerian ; the seminaries of Perpignan, Metz, Nancy, Pont-à-Mousson, Verdun are gutted. At Strasburg, at Cahors, Nancy, Autun, Narbonne, Saintes, Chartres, Dijon, &c., miscreants throw down the sign of our redemption.

"According to the localities, the outrages vary. At Blois, at Niort, the crucifix carried away, is dragged like that of a malefactor, to the Hotel de Ville. At Ferté-sous-Jarre, it is torn from the church amid public hootings—it is sawed and trampled under foot. At Sarcelles the image of Christ is broken upon the cross ; at Beaune, after having been outraged, it is burned ; while at Montargis it is sunk in the river.

"In some cities, at Poitiers, Toulon, Riom, Nîmes, Toulouse, &c., authority proceeds officially to the work of sacrilege. In other places, the miscreants seem to dread the light of day. At Bourges, Trevoux, Rhodéz, Grenoble, the night is chosen for these execrable sacrileges. At Carpentras, at Noyon, the native workmen refusing their aid, foreign unbelievers must be called in, or, as at Besançon, the military force employed.

"The municipal authorities arrogantly presume to usurp ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Here a mayor breaks open the doors of a church ; there he commands the curate at what hour he shall say mass ; elsewhere he causes an office of his own devising to be sung by his agents—patriotic psalms, mixed up with sanguinary versicles. At Bern, the son of the mayor reads in the sanctuary the collection of administrative acts, and prevents the catechetical instruction taking place. At Poilly, (in Yonne), the National Guard takes the church for its arsenal, and suppresses vespers. In the great cities, especially, the breath of impiety blows up the flame of popular hatred.

"Calumny is emblazoned on the walls of the capital ; the most filthy writings are put in circulation ; the least disgusting are those entitled, *the turpitudes of priests*."—pp. 64-7.

Whilst the Church, under the sanction, or at least connivance, of the authorities, was thus cruelly outraged, some of her unworthy ministers, like Chatel and his compeers, were profaning her liturgy with the most sacrilegious mummeries : the sect of St. Simonians, with its extravagant Pantheism, and its anarchical doctrines, was perverting the minds of a

large portion of the French youth; and the apostate muse of Victor Hugo was polluting the theatre with the most cynical outrages against virtue. A still more illustrious poet, who had however considered Christianity too exclusively from a mere æsthetic point of view (M. de la Martine), falls from the faith, and prostitutes to the service of a voluptuous Pantheism a noble muse, that had once been devoted to the most exalted functions. In the meantime, M. Fourier lays down principles for the formation and guidance of an atrocious and impious society, like that of Owen's Socialists—a society which even to this day exerts no inconsiderable influence in France. M. Gustave Drouineau endeavours to patch up a new sort of Christianity, adapted, as he thinks, to the exigencies of the age; while many of the eclectics and the doctrinaires, mostly editors of a former Parisian journal, *The Globe*, affecting to lament the retrograde spirit of the Catholic Church, predict her speedy downfall.

While impiety is thus sharpening her tongue against the Lord, an accident suddenly enkindles the irreligious fury of the Parisian populace. A mass celebrated in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for the repose of the soul of an illustrious prince who fell by the dagger of an assassin, furnishes the pretext for a new revolt. In a few hours this ancient and venerable church is violated, profaned, despoiled, and dismantled—other parish churches of the metropolis are assailed; the populace, goaded on to madness, reduces to a wreck the already defaced palace of the archbishop, and, amid imprecations of blood, hunts even under the tomb of his mother for the life of the prelate. The sacred books, the sacerdotal vestments, crucifixes (some of exquisite workmanship), are burned or thrown into the Seine. While the crosses are floating down the stream, Infidelity wags her head and exclaims, "Lo! Christianity passes away, like those crosses."

But a trial still severer was reserved for the Church of France. An illustrious writer, the most able and eloquent apologist of religion that she had produced since Bossuet, after having originally with pure intentions vainly endeavoured to engraft on Catholicism revolutionary principles, despising the salutary warnings of the successor of Peter, threw off at last the yoke of Christ, and fell into an apostacy, which, by its suddenness as well as depth, is perhaps unparalleled in the whole history of the human mind. Oh! verily, it was in this moment that the Church of France drank the chalice of tribulation, even to its uttermost dregs.

What now will become of this poor afflicted Church, persecuted as she is, like her divine Master, by the princes of the people, insulted and outraged by the populace, and betrayed by her own disciples? Oh! slow and foolish of heart must we indeed be, if we be tempted to despond, forgetting that the Spouse of Christ in the hour of her humiliation is ever nearest to her triumph! Scarce had the artillery of July ceased to roar, and scarce had the monarchy of the barricades been erected, when one of the sainted daughters of St. Vincent of Paul beheld in a vision the glorious Queen of Heaven, robed in light more resplendent than the sun's, and the thousand converging rays of love darting from her hands, and who assured her daughter, that if her intercession were more earnestly and more frequently invoked, earth would not be so cold and cheerless. This vision, after a preliminary investigation, is sanctioned by the authorities of the French Church; and medals, in commemoration of this signal grace of Heaven, are circulated among the faithful in France and the rest of Europe. We shall soon see how benignly fulfilled was the promise of the Queen of Heaven.

It is singular enough, that a year prior to the July revolution, a distinguished member of the French priesthood said to the author of this article, "The best missionary now for our people were a pestilence." And indeed, when we consider how, in despite of all the lessons which the French people had received, the calamities it had endured, and the calamities from which it had so providentially escaped, a large portion of them, especially the inhabitants of Paris, seemed to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing; that they were still ready to renew the war against the Lord and against His Christ; to renew the game of impiety, rapine, havoc, and blood, we must admit that such a people was ripe for the vengeance of Heaven. Now the Almighty stretches forth His arm against the guilty race, and summons from the depths of Asia an appalling, mysterious malady, as the minister of His wrath. The pestilence sweeps along the Caucasian chain in the track of the Russian army, scourges unhappy Poland in its course, ravages Germany, and at length enters the French capital, black, fierce, and silent, like a conqueror resolved to accept no conditions. It sweeps down victims on every side; ten—twenty thousand souls it sends weekly into eternity: the over-crowded hospitals can no longer receive their patients—private houses are converted into hospitals—the clergy and sisters of charity, and virtuous laity, at this awful crisis

outvie each other in the self-devotedness of love, and the illustrious Archbishop of Paris, emerging from his retreat, comes forth like a messenger of Divine mercy, to pardon his enemies, reconcile them with Heaven, and give his clergy the example of a sublime courage.

But while the Almighty was inflicting this severe visitation on the guilty city, He was pleased to temper His wrath with mercy. The supplications of His Virgin Mother are heard. The medals, representing the auspicious vision adverted to above, are put under the pillows of the victims of infection; and the most sudden and miraculous cures take place: and what is still more wonderful, the obduracy of sin is instantaneously softened—raving blasphemy is hushed, implores Heaven for forgiveness, and receives the consolations of religion.*

It is from this period the great religious improvement in the French metropolis may be dated. A power, emanating from the Cross, subdues the most stubborn hearts, and infidelity, outworn and vanquished, drops at its foot.

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers testimonies as to the state of religion and morality in Paris during the last nine or ten years; and these testimonies we shall take from the works of distinguished writers, natives and foreigners, or, where the names of the authors are not given, from periodical writings of established repute. After having pointed out the general state of religion in the French capital and in the surrounding districts, we shall notice the moral condition of the various classes composing French society.

Let us hear how a very competent judge described, nine years ago, the extraordinary religious reaction in the capital and the provinces.

"Yes," exclaims M. Rojelly de Lorgues, "Christ is before the tribunal of the age. Arrogantly summoned before that tribunal, the age has at last acquitted Him. After having exhausted every system, tried every philosophy, consumed all the resources of knowledge and human pride; being overpowered at last by an indefinable feeling of sadness and lassitude, men call upon Him, who reigns in Heaven. Literati, orientalists, engineers, magistrates, diplomatists, naturalists, advocates, professors—the whole intellectual powers of the age, from the young Polytechnic school to the old Academy, have been seen assembled in mute attention round a Catholic pulpit, in order to receive their share in the bread of the word. The solemnities of the Church awaken and revive in the soul ineffable recollections and hopes. In those seasons especially, the crowd

* For a parallel fact, mentioned by St. Augustine, see "Dublin Review," vol. xv. p. 497.

overflows the sacred precincts—the inclosure of our temples scarcely suffices for the affluence of the faithful. Yes, faith revives in our country. God, whom many of our scientific men would formerly have blushed to name in public, is now invoked every where—at the bar—in the drawing-room—at the tribune—in the lecture-hall. *The majority of Frenchmen*, hitherto indifferent about religion, are disturbed about the suppression of episcopal sees. Petitions on this subject, bearing innumerable signatures, have astonished the national legislature.

“A member of the left side, distinguished for a frank and loyal character, supports the brothers of the Christian schools. M. Du-bois, a member of the University, defends them, and the whole Chamber declares itself in favour of those modest labourers in the cause of public morality. Again, when the expenses of public instruction come under discussion in the Chamber of Deputies, and M. de Bellaigue loudly complains of the want of religious education in the University, his words receive unanimous approbation.* . . . In public harangues, in speeches delivered at Athenæums, at academies, spiritualism raises its voice, and speaks every day in a clearer accent. Men spoke formerly of Nature—they speak now of the Creator. They formerly used the word destiny, immutable order—they say now Providential law, Divine wisdom. The materialist philosophy writhes with vexation at seeing its lecture-halls forsaken; its organs feel, in their lifetime, a mortal oblivion weigh like a tomb-stone over them. On the other hand, wherever a promise of immortality—a spark of faith illumines the soul, or warms the heart, there an eager number of youths are found collected. The erudite Catholicism of Baader—the Christian speculations of Görres at Munich, have obtained more celebrity than all our *Anglo-Franco-Germanism* has been able to acquire in the *Pays Latin*.”†—*Le Christ devant le Siècle*, pp. 392–4.

Let us now hear a distinguished writer, the Baron de Guiraud, bear witness to the still further improvement, which the last seven years have superinduced in the religious feelings of the inhabitants of Paris.

“Yes, it is said, we concede it; more than six thousand young men hurry to Notre Dame, to St. Roch, wherever a preacher of any repute is to be heard; but in that number, how many Christians, and especially, how many Catholics can you reckon? How many, moreover, who put in practice what is taught them?”

“How many? Ask Father Ravignan—ask the pastors of our parishes, whether those sermons be not attended with abundant fruit? Or, without recurring to such authentic sources of infor-

* See the sitting of the 8th May 1834.

† The Pays Latin is that quarter of the city where the colleges of the University are situate. The Anglo-Franco-Germanism is the philosophy of Cousin and Jouffroy, which is a combination of Reid, Dugald Stuart, and Kant and Hegel.

mation, do as I have done, go and examine with your own eyes. Have you heard at the retreat of St. Roch this year (1841), all those male voices mingling with the pious, infantine voices, that during the spiritual exercises, sang canticles to the blessed Virgin and the Holy Spirit? This was already a practical beginning. Every man, who, with a book in his hand, takes part with grave and attentive demeanour in all the exercises of piety performed in those sacred assemblies, has already overcome a great enemy—human respect. His most furious passions are less formidable; he will therefore conquer them likewise.

“And that which proves the truth of what I here advance, is the general communion, which followed on this retreat—a solemn communion where the men, who partook of the spiritual banquet, were almost as numerous as the pious women, who habitually attend the church; where two thousand Catholics at least, received from the hands of their archbishop the Eucharistic bread. I here state what I have seen—what I myself took part in.

“I will add, that at Saint-Eustache, the same spectacle of recollectedness and active participation in the devotions of the retreat, equally struck me. I will say nothing as to the multitude of persons.

“Around all pulpits, humble as may be the attainments of the preachers, there is always such a crowd assembled, that the curious can never find a place. It will therefore be no matter of astonishment, that the voice of Father Ravignan should attract multitudes from all quarters of Paris.

“When on the termination of M. Ravignan’s sermon, the canticles were resumed—those canticles of grief and supplication—those canticles, which in a tone of deep lament, beg God to *pardon his people*; the high vaults of St. Eustache were filled with such a concordance of suppliant, agitated voices, that the whole nave seemed shaken; and in order to calm, or rather confine within the depths of the heart, all this profound emotion, the elevation of the Divine Host was necessary, which shed, in exchange for those fervent prayers, the benedictions of the God who received them.

“Such is the material, or rather the moral fact—I will add, the *divine* fact, which I witnessed. It was above all, divine; for take from all this the grace of heaven; and then explain, if you can, all those assemblies—those prayers—those emotions—those sorrows—those ineffable joys, which then nothing justifies, which then have neither a motive, nor an object, nor a reason. For if all this be not religion, it is madness.”—*Université Catholique*, vol. xii. p. 70. 1841.

No less satisfactory than the scene described by Baron de Guiraud, was the spectacle exhibited two years ago in the church of Notre Dame, where *fifteen hundred men*, all

belonging to the educated classes, (consisting of professors, scientific men, lawyers, physicians, artillery officers in full uniform, members of the Polytechnic school, &c.,) received on an Easter Sunday, at the hands of Father Ravignan, the Holy Communion.

If such be the edifying spectacle exhibited in the interior of churches, the outward aspect of Paris has undergone no inconsiderable improvement. In *Görres' Historical Journal*, published at Munich, a German traveller, three years ago, describes Paris as follows:—

“As little for my part as I advocate the July revolution, and small as the joy which that revolution has brought to the king, whom it raised to the throne; yet it must be confessed, that the present government has introduced many essential ameliorations. I cannot as yet form any judgment as to the state of morals in Paris; but this I will assert, whoever visited that capital some years ago, must admit, that as far as outward decorum is concerned, its streets have been purged of much uncleanness. The Palais Royal, and in general all the public places and promenades, have been cleared of those unfortunate beings, who prefer lucre to their chastity; and if we add, that gambling-houses and lotteries have been abolished, the above acknowledgment is only commanded by strict justice.”—*Historisch-politische Blätter*, vol. v. p. 576.

But among the instruments employed by Divine Providence for bringing about this happy change in the Parisian mind, there is one ecclesiastic eminently deserving of notice. The abbé Desgenettes was appointed in the year 1834 to the curacy of Notre Dame des Victoires—a parish, where the Exchange and the theatres are situate, and which is the chief centre of the irreligion, lewdness, and vice of Paris. Shocked at the scandals which surrounded him—at the spiritual misery and degradation of the great bulk of his parishioners—at the total neglect of all religious duties, (where out of a population of twenty thousand souls, scarcely more than five hundred could be brought together for the Sunday mass,) he poured forth his supplications to heaven, and besought the suffrages of the glorious Virgin, whose intercession on a recent occasion had just proved so efficacious. He communicated to some pious souls his project of founding a sodality in honour of the blessed Virgin for the conversion of sinners. Wavering and desponding, he delayed the execution of this project; but his mind being constantly haunted by the idea, he at last drew up the statutes of the confraternity, which on the 3rd of December, 1836, met with the sanction of the archbishop of Paris.

The extraordinary success, wherewith the Almighty hath blessed the labours of this zealous pastor, shall be recounted in his own words.

"Scarcely," says he, "had the Confraternity of the most holy and immaculate heart of Mary for the conversion of sinners been formed, than a change was soon apparent in the moral condition of the parish. The church was more and more frequented; the holy mass and other devotional exercises better attended; and the paschal season, from the multitude which approached the table of the Lord, afforded much greater solace to the pastor of the congregation. The number of communions, from the year 1837, stands in no proportion to that of preceding years. In the year 1835, the number of communicants amounted only to *seven hundred and twenty*; on the other hand, in 1837, they amounted to *nine thousand nine hundred and fifty*! From time to time, I solicited the intercession of the members of the Confraternity in behalf of individuals known to me as living in a state of grievous sin, or of persons dangerously ill. The faithful observed this custom, and their Christian charity furnished me with an opportunity of tasking the same every Sunday; the Almighty rewarded the faith and the charity of these pious intercessors in behalf of sinners; for times without number hath the grace of conversion been granted at the prayer of the members of the sodality."—See the *Manuel d'instructions et de prières à l'usage des Membres de l'archi-confrérie du très saint et immaculé Cœur de Marie, par M. l'abbé Desgenettes*.

In this book the reader will find recorded examples of the most miraculous conversions. He will read of hoary sinners, of seventy or eighty years of age, suddenly converted; he will read of men, who had not frequented a church for thirty years, living in the open profession of infidelity, or utterly indifferent to every feeling and principle of religion, suddenly awed by the presence of the man of God, fall on their knees, shed tears of repentance, and demand to be reconciled with heaven. The wonderful blessings, which have followed in the train of this religious association, have induced his present Holiness to bestow on it many indulgences; and to raise it to the title of an arch-confraternity. It reckoned two years ago five hundred thousand members in France alone; and the number must since have vastly increased. Here is the second proof of the efficacy of Mary's promised intercession. Who, after such signal graces, can be cold in his devotion to the Queen of Heaven?

But it is not, as our readers may suppose, in the parish of Notre Dame des Victoires alone, that this happy moral re-

formation is manifest; in almost every quarter of Paris it is more or less visible. Let us hear the testimony of a German priest, who in the year 1840 visited the French capital.

"In answer to the observations of those French and foreign journalists, who assert that the piety which of late years has been so strikingly apparent at Paris, is a mere caprice of fashion, he remarks: 'I cannot pretend to be so well acquainted with all the cafés and haunts of secret resort in this capital, as the gentlemen in question; but intercourse and conversation with the best-informed men—inspection of the numberless fine religious institutions in this city, and especially the frequent visiting of churches and chapels at various times of the day, have convinced me, that these men wear very bad spectacles. Wherever and whenever I entered a church, I met with pious adorers; and as I happened to be at Paris in the month of Mary (May), I found both in the forenoon, and afternoon at these beautiful devotions, which were frequently accompanied with sermons, multitudes of the faithful. Every morning the priests were sitting in the confessionals; while around them pious christians were kneeling, preparing themselves for the sacrament of penance. In short, very great infidelity may prevail in Paris; but a Sodom it is not. A pagan turmoil may prevail in the streets; but go into the interior of families; go into the churches, there you will find much genuine piety. And what is the best symptom, there is from year to year an improvement. To be an infidel is no longer *bon ton*; on the contrary, in every class, religion has regained her influence, and the more so in the higher and more respectable families.'—*Notizen über Frankreich aus den Reiseberichten eines deutschen Priesters.* Sion, p. 855. anno 1841.

Having spoken of the state of religion among the general population of Paris, it is necessary to point out the classes and descriptions of men in the capital and the provinces, over whom the Church has more particularly resumed her influence. And let us commence with that rank of life from which the moral and social corruption in the last century emanated—we mean the literary and scientific class. What a prodigious change do we encounter here!

"In contemplating French society," says M. Roselly de Lorgues, "in that wide-extended state of misery to which unbelief has reduced it, the young generation turns from it with disgust. Infidelity, that vile antagonist of the Saviour, is dethroned. His end approaches—he is abandoned: already the infamous old wretch has no longer warmth in his veins. His tongue falters; he can no longer debauch any one; he can no longer destroy modesty and affection in the bosom of woman—obedience and simplicity in the heart of the child—charity and self-devotion in the soul of the citizen. After

having exerted a despotic sway in the courts of Europe, paraded his maxims through every capital, this philosophism now finds the drawing-rooms closed against him ; he hobbles along from the shop into the miry street ; and his trembling limbs can no longer bear him up.

"Our frenzied literature [*notre littérature convulsionnaire*], the true thermometer of the present period, evidently betokens a return to the principle of light. Instead of the old impieties, where-with the press monthly teemed, two works only have appeared—the last paroxysms of expiring hatred. On the other hand, the immense vogue of Silvio Pellico's '*Le mie Prigioni*,' the constant success of Manzoni's '*Promessi Sposi*,' the reception given to the work entitled '*The Virgin*,' by my learned and pious friend the Abbé Orsini, and the love which France bears for her poet, Alphonse de la Martine, whose celestial melodies fifteen years ago she was unable to comprehend, carnal as she then was ; the tendency of the new literature towards a sort of evangelized Platonism—towards German mysticism—and towards imitations of the middle age, the period of naïve faith and pious enthusiasm—the homage rendered to the times as well as the men of the elder Church—the favour wherewith every religious conception is welcomed—all clearly evince a reviving sympathy for religious feelings, and the approach of a new social regeneration."—*Le Christ devant le Siècle*, pp. 389–91.

If such were the state of things eight years ago, the progress of religion in the literate class has since that period not slackened. The Baron d'Eckstein, the distinguished friend and disciple of Frederick von Schlegel, who has resided in France for the last twenty-five years, and in his knowledge of that country yields to few men living, thus writes in the *Universal Gazette of Augsburg*, under the date of September 1841.

"It is astonishing," says he, "to see how religion here again takes root in the consciences of men, and in their wants and habits of life. . . . It is interesting to watch the manner wherein the living God hath opened unto Himself a way in this land, where all the Deists of Utilitarianism, as well as all the theorists of the school, had unanimously rejected Him. They have ruled, and many of them still preach, and sometimes gain professorial chairs ; but they can no longer obtain credence ; and while the travelling clerk of this or that firm still sports free-thinking, the artillery officer now goes to mass, and the mathematician once more returns to the faith, which the genius of our bankrupts and usurers alone refuses to submit to."

From this extract the reader will perceive, that it is not only the higher literature which has rallied round the Church ; it is not merely eminent metaphysicians, philolo-

gers, and archeologists, who, as under the Restoration, give the edifying example of a return to religion: but it is the cultivators of the physical and mathematical sciences—those precisely who, if not zealots in the cause of irreligion, yet had long been remarkable for a cold, deep, settled hatred to revelation, that we now see warmed into a new glow of religious fervour.

Of the great moral improvement that has occurred in the sentiments and conduct of the old nobility, whether in the capital or the provinces, it is needless to speak; for upon the fact of such a change all men are agreed. This aristocracy, that had taken so culpable a part in the orgies of the Regency, that, in the long and scandalous reign of Louis XV (we speak of the nobility of the capital), had, by its immorality and the encouragement it afforded to an impious philosophy, debauched to a great extent the other classes of society, was doomed, in the great revolution, to the severest expiation for the many transgressions of the past. The remnant of this body, which survived the dungeons and the scaffolds, the sweeping confiscations, the wholesale butcheries, and the judicial murders of the Republic, the desolating conscription, and the long train of miseries, sufferings, and havoc that accompanied and followed the Imperial wars, presented under the Restoration very many examples of public and private virtue, domestic purity, religious resignation, active benevolence, and political integrity, frequently set off by great parliamentary talents and eloquence, and high literary cultivation.

But there is another order of men, among whom the moral reform has been hitherto much less general and efficacious—we mean the class of advocates. The old magistracy of France preserved, on the whole, down to the latest period of the monarchy, an unsullied reputation for wisdom, learning, and integrity; although it cannot be denied, that many of them, by their exaggerated Gallicanisms, carried, as it was, beyond the verge of orthodoxy, their insolent encroachments on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, their distrust of the Holy See, and their jealousy of the episcopacy, considerably augmented the disorders of French society in the eighteenth century. But the advocates, who may be called the democracy of the old legal profession, at first inoculated with a Jansenistical spirit, and at last, to a considerable extent, perverted by the irreligious doctrines promulgated by the literati, and patronized by a large portion of the nobles, became in 1789 the most

crafty, as well as fanatical, agents in the work of social destruction: while, at this fearful period, the higher magistracy remained in general faithful to the cause of the Church and the monarchy.

With respect to the improvement which of late years has been going on in the class we have been describing, it is satisfactory to hear the following testimony from an intelligent correspondent in a German periodical.

"We must hope for the best," says he, "and, resting on facts, confide in the regenerating power of the Church.

"To cite but one example, a remarkable change has taken place in the order of advocates. You know that the old hereditary hatred of jurists against Christianity, which in former times evinced itself in the Jansenism and enmity to the Jesuits, characteristic of the old Parliaments, attained its acme during the Revolution. The Restoration brought back indeed the image of the Crucified into the courts of justice, but did not succeed in bringing about a moral renovation of society; and even at that period, it was the jurists who led on the most violent attacks against the clergy, under the name of the *Parti-prêtre*, in order, in the person to destroy the thing. After the July revolution, the Cross of our Lord and Master must give way to the Iconoclasts of irreligion, and be banished from the temples of justice, or covered over with a green cloth: and to this day (1840) this state of things has continued."*

After observing that the Procureur-général of Melun publicly expressed a wish, that the image of the Redeemer might be restored to its former place, as a warning to the judge, and a solace to the accused, the correspondent of the *Sion* adds—

"Do not, however, think that this is but a partial phenomenon—the speech of a mere sentimental enthusiast. No! it is not one man, but a whole corporation that is become imbued with a Christian spirit; and the royal tribunals of Agen, Bayeux, Besançon, Limoges, Meaux, and Toulouse, have opened their sessions this year with a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost. This is a circumstance which a few years ago would have appeared incredible, and which is the more honourable to these men, as certainly the step was not taken at any suggestion from a high quarter, or with any prospect of court favour."—*Sion*, pp. 1352–3, anno 1840.

In the mercantile classes, however, this happy amelioration of sentiment is not by any means so apparent; and for this satisfactory reasons may be assigned. In the first place, their attention being almost exclusively confined to temporal and material concerns, the members of this class are less alive to the changes going on in the moral world, and to the general

* It may now be seen in its ancient place, in the Palais de Justice of Paris.

tendency of public opinion. Secondly, they possess, generally speaking, for the cultivation of literature, neither the same taste nor the same leisure, as the members of the learned professions, and are thereby precluded from one of the most effectual means for the enlightenment of their ignorance, and the correction of deep-rooted prejudices.

It is in this class, accordingly, that irreligion and the old political liberalism find the most strenuous and persevering partisans. Yet the anarchical doctrines of the "Communists," and the frightful progress that political sect has made, have tended to cool the ardour of their political liberalism, and induce greater respect for religion, without which many among them clearly perceive, that the preservation of social order, and the maintenance of the rights of property, are utterly impracticable.

The lower ranks in Paris, its neighbourhood, and some of the larger cities, are described as still sunk in the deepest irreligion and the grossest sensuality. Here the most brutal indifference to all religious sentiment is manifest—here vice appears in all its hideous turpitude—here the family-ties are disregarded, and frequently even unknown—here all the impious and anarchical secret societies, that for the last thirty, and especially the last twelve years, have incessantly warred against social order, have enlisted their recruits—here regicide ever finds at hand her infernal agents. The younger Görres, who three years ago visited Paris, observes on this subject:—

"While in Paris, and far around this capital, the higher ranks, in a hundred different ways, return more and more to a better tone, both in speculation and in life, the lower classes are almost exclusively given up to the old unbelief, to the most besotted religious indifference, yea, often to the most furious hatred against religion and her ministers. Sunk in the deepest and most infamous immorality, they may truly be called the '*classes dangereuses de la société*;' furnishing the revolution with a countless host, out of which it can perpetually draw its agents for revolt and for regicide."*

In the truth of these observations concurs the very intelligent French correspondent, already quoted, of the German Catholic paper, the *Sion*.

"Generally speaking," says he, "in the upper classes of society Voltairianism is utterly extinct; but among the lower ranks, its ravages are more frightful than ever."

After stating that it was from the higher classes that corruption first proceeded, and that having now returned to the paths of

* See *Historisch-politische Blätter*, vol. vii. p. 267.

religion and virtue, they are called by Providence to repair, by sound doctrines and good example, the mischief they had once wrought on their inferiors, the writer observes:—

“This task is doubtless exceedingly difficult ; for evil, when once firmly implanted in the people, takes as strong and deep a root as the traditions of good ; and the lower orders are devoid of the necessary intelligence, education, experience, and even property ; for the latter undoubtedly exerts no inconsiderable influence on the formation of moral principles.”—*Sion*, p. 1352, anno 1840.

Yet are we happy to perceive that, in the course of the present year, a portion of the Parisian artisans and workmen have exhibited symptoms of moral improvement. For this happy change, society is much indebted to the zealous exertions of an association entitled “Conference of St. Vincent of Paul ;” and as the rise and rapid progress of this pious and charitable society tend at once to corroborate our previous remarks as to the religious regeneration now at work in the French youth, especially of the middle ranks, and to throw light also on the moral condition of the labouring classes of the French capital, it may not be irrelevant to devote a few remarks to the subject.

Six or seven years ago, as many of our readers must be aware, about a dozen young law-students founded a society under the patronage of St. Vincent of Paul, and bound themselves to assemble weekly, visit poor families, and undertake, each in his turn, distribution of soup, meat, and raiment to the necessitous. Providence blessed this modest association ; every year beheld its numbers increase, and the flower of the Parisian youth, out of the various faculties of law, medicine, and the Polytechnic School, enrolled themselves as members. Two years ago this society counted seven hundred members at Paris, and as many in the provinces ; but the number has since considerably augmented. The objects of this association include, among other works of mercy, the visiting, the support, and the moral reform of poor families. The especial necessity of such an institution in Paris, the reader may better understand when he hears, that there are very many poor families in the French capital that will not endure the visit of a priest, that would reject with scorn any alms he might offer, and repel him from their threshold with insult and blasphemy. Under such circumstances, the idea was as felicitous as it was noble, that young laymen should undertake the office of the Christian missionary,—penetrate into the abodes of abandoned poverty, relieve the temporal wants of their un-

happy inmates, win by degrees their confidence, and, after revealing to their benighted understandings, little by little, the truths of religion, raise them from their far more grievous moral destitution.

Such has been the progress of this society, that in the present year monthly meetings have been held, at which numerous workmen have attended; and where, after the public celebration of prayers, moral, religious, and literary discourses have been delivered, and prizes distributed to such artisans as by their virtue and industry had proved themselves meritorious.

The army, also, affords signs of moral improvement; and this is the more gratifying, as, since the July revolution, the removal or voluntary resignation of many of the well-disposed officers, and the non-enforcement of attendance at Divine worship, had introduced many elements of corruption into the military ranks.

"We must not think," says the Abbé Landmann, curate of Constantina, "that our soldiers in Africa are as irreligious as they are in France. Separated from his family by many hundred leagues, surrounded by men, whose language, manners, and costumes, are so different from his own, the French soldier is involuntarily thrown back upon his better feelings; illusions give way to serious thoughts; he remembers the holy lessons he was taught in infancy; and when in the camp, amid the savage stillness of Nature, he hears by night at every quarter of an hour, the solemn cry repeated from many lips, 'Sentinel, be on guard!' he raises his eyes and his heart to the God of his fathers. *Thus it is extremely rare to see a soldier in a serious illness, I do not say, refuse, but even not solicit the ministrations of a priest.*"*

The *Ami de la Religion*, four years ago, gave the following touching account of the religious deportment of a regiment of the line stationed at Paris.

"The Thirty-ninth regiment, which had been formerly quartered at Besançon, came to Paris with the best reputation, and, stationed in the neighbourhood of the seminary of Picpus, it soon turned to account the pious zeal of the ecclesiastics of that house. Every evening forty to fifty soldiers come into the chapel, in order to receive instruction, which is there given by a clergyman under the direction of the Abbé Césaire. . . . Many pleasing traits might be recounted; but suffice it to say, that these gallant men frequent the holy sacraments often, and many even every week. Each Sunday numbers may be seen collected in groups, either in the chapel of

* See the work entitled "*Les Fermes du petit Atlas, ou Colonisation agricole, religieuse, et militaire du Nord de l'Afrique.*"

Piepus, or in the church of St. Margaret, and they conduct themselves with as much decorum as the most devout of the parishioners. This good spirit is in a great measure to be ascribed to the colonel of the regiment."

The last class we shall speak of is that of the peasantry. From personal observations, as well as the testimony of enlightened Frenchmen, we can declare that a more religious peasantry is seldom found, than the rural population of Lower Normandy, Brittany, La Vendée, and large portions of the South of France. The Bréton peasant, though rough and reserved in his manners, is honest, pious, and loyal. The country churches in Brittany we have observed extremely crowded on a Sunday, and the people very attentive and assiduous in their devotions. "No crimes," said a Bréton gentleman to us several years ago, "are ever committed in these parts, save petty larcenies." The extreme humidity of the climate of Brittany induces an immoderate use of cider, the beverage of the country; and so examples of inebriety are not infrequent.

The Vendean peasant, characterized by more courteous manners than the Bréton, is born a devoted adherent to Church and to monarchy. The very children (as the Bishop of Luçon once assured us) are taught to lisp from their cradle the words "God and King"—those talismanic words, which they cling to through life with the sainted devotedness of martyrs. In travelling through La Vendée, we noticed that almost every cottage had the blessed sign of redemption cut or painted on its door.

The peasant of the province of Béarn, with much of the stately port and independent spirit of his neighbour, the Spaniard, unites to a certain extent his gravity of manners and attachment to religion.

Of the peasantry of other parts of Southern France, we are unable to speak from personal observation; yet from the testimony of well-informed natives, as well as from other sources of information, we know that that peasantry is distinguished for purity of morals, and fervid devotion to the Church.

Of the peasantry in many parts of eastern and central France, a very different picture must be drawn. The rural population, in the circumference of seventy or eighty miles round Paris, has been infected by the pestiferous atmosphere of that city. In a country parish, situate about eight or ten English miles from Paris, the curate, in a letter he addressed

to the Archbishop of Paris a few years ago, and which was afterwards published, gave a most deplorable account of his congregation. He declared that, in a population consisting of upwards of six hundred souls, not more than twenty assisted at the Sunday Mass, and scarcely eight or ten children attended catechetical instruction, while the bulk of his parishioners passed their time in drunkenness, debauchery, and a total forgetfulness of God. The religious movement, so strongly perceptible among certain portions of the Parisian population, has apparently not yet extended to many of the circumjacent districts.

It now remains for us to make a few remarks upon that class which our Lord has pronounced to be the salt of the earth, and on whose instruction and example the moral deportment of the other orders of society so much depends. We shall first speak of the secular clergy, and then notice the religious communities of either sex.

In point of virtue and learning, the French episcopacy, as is generally admitted, yields to none other in Europe. Many of its present members were nominated to their sees by the late Bourbon government. In the year 1822, in virtue of a Concordat entered into with His Holiness Pope Pius VII, from twenty to twenty-five new bishoprics were created; and it fortunately happened, that at the time when the nominations were made to these sees, the Grand Almoner, whose duty it was to recommend to the King the individuals most worthy of such an honour, was the Prince de Croi, the present archbishop of Rouen. This prelate consulted on such occasions his able secretary, the abbé Jean de la Mennais, the founder of "the Congregation of Brothers of Christian Doctrine"—an ecclesiastic extremely well versed in theology and canon law, and who is as much distinguished for his capacity in matters of ecclesiastical administration, as was his celebrated brother in religious literature. The prelates named under the influence of this able and excellent ecclesiastic, were all eminent for zeal and learning, and strongly anti-Gallican in their sentiments. Among others, that ornament of the church of France, Monseigneur de Bonald, the son of the celebrated Christian philosopher of that name, and now archbishop of Lyons, was then appointed to the bishopric of Puy.

Some of the episcopal nominations made by Louis Philip in the first years of his reign, inspired the catholics of France with the utmost terror; but through the firmness and the

address of his present Holiness, they could not be accomplished. The episcopal appointments, however, made by this monarch within the last eight or nine years, have, we believe, given very general satisfaction.

The inferior clergy of France, in respect to zeal and piety, leaves little to be desired. The Revolution, however, having destroyed those ancient seats of learning—the universities and the monasteries—and having plundered the property, and thereby thinned the ranks of the priesthood, the education of ecclesiastics has for the last forty years been necessarily hurried in its course, and inferior in its quality. Yet of late years, several excellent prelates have accomplished a plan for extending and improving the philosophical and theological courses in their respective seminaries.

A still more effectual instrument for advancing the intellectual culture of the French priesthood are the theological faculties, that under the auspices of the government, have been recently erected in several dioceses. These faculties ought, in virtue of the concordat of 1802, to have been established forty years ago; and that the Restoration herein neglected its duty, is one of its many sins of omission. The organization of these faculties is yet incomplete; but some of the nominations that have been made, inspire the friends of religion with great hopes.

Under the Restoration, the Missionary priests of St. Vincent of Paul rendered the greatest services to religion, aided the exertions of the secular clergy, reclaimed many sinners and unbelievers to Christ, and often preached the faith to rural districts, that for thirty years had not heard the voice, or enjoyed the ministrations of a pastor. From the great political hostility, which the so-called liberal party evinced towards these extraordinary religious missions, they have, to the great detriment of the Church, been suspended since the July Revolution.

Under the late Government, the disciples of Loyola co-operated in this divine work of extraordinary missions, which had the two-fold object to evangelize the utterly neglected districts, and to resuscitate piety in those places provided with regular pastors. The Jesuits directed, moreover, ten or twelve colleges, which in point of secular learning coped with the royal academies, and in all that regarded religious instruction and the practice of piety, infinitely surpassed them. Since the year 1828, when these colleges were suppressed by the Martignac ministry, the French Jesuits have

founded establishments in Belgium and Switzerland, where they are enabled to furnish an excellent education to upwards of eight hundred French youths, mostly belonging to noble families.

The Lazarists, by their extraordinary activity in foreign missions, and by the skill, wherewith they direct ecclesiastical seminaries, have worthily sustained the glory of St. Vincent of Paul. It is remarkable, that all the religious communities of either sex, founded by this great saint, have sprung up with uncommon vigour and elasticity from the ruins of the Revolution.

Since the year 1830, a single community of Maurist Benedictines has been re-established in France; and though that strong love for historical researches, which characterizes the French *litterati* of the present day, has induced a government not over friendly to the Church to wink at the existence of this establishment, yet has it to contend with many and various difficulties. The new members of this Benedictine abbey of Solesmes bid fair to tread in the glorious footsteps of their predecessors; and the literary glory of the order is upheld by the learned and valuable work of its present abbot, entitled "*Etudes Liturgiques*."

The order of La Trappe, when we consider as well the extreme rigidity of the institute itself, as the difficulties, nay, persecutions, that since 1789 have more or less beset all monastic communities, has with some interruptions of tranquillity, obtained signal success; and to several rural districts it sets at once a pattern of agricultural skill and industry, and an example of the austere sanctity.

The order of Dominicans the zealous and eloquent abbé Lacordaire has for some years been striving to restore; but he has hitherto encountered invincible obstacles on the part of the government.

Several religious communities, like those of Brothers of Mercy, Brothers of St. Joseph, Brothers of Mary, devote themselves to the care of the sick and insane, as well as to popular education, and render at the present moment the greatest services to the cause of religion and of humanity. But of all these congregations, the admirable institution founded by the Abbé de la Salle, in the seventeenth century, entitled, "*Brothers of the Christian Schools*," has in the present age exerted the most extensive as well as beneficial influence over the French people.

This institute, protected by Napoleon, and cherished by

the Restoration, had to encounter severe shocks from the political tempest of 1830. Yet, in despite of the persecutions they had to sustain from various municipalities, the "Christian Brothers" have stood firm, prospered, and multiplied. In the year 1833, they already possessed 369 schools, 1093 classes, and 92,289 scholars, and in the year 1836 they had augmented their schools by forty-two; and every subsequent year has witnessed the increase of their establishments. M. Torrain, a member of the Paris University, in a report to the French Government, from which we have taken the above statements on this subject, bears the following honourable testimony to this religious congregation.

"After stating that in all the accounts he had received from the school-inspectors appointed by the University (and he enumerates four hundred and ninety), he had found but one cry of lamentation on the miserable state of the popular schools, the ignorance and the debasement of the teachers; he adds, justice requires me to assign a different character to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The better condition of their schools, which is acknowledged by all the inspectors without distinction—their pure morality, their excellent discipline, their peculiar regulations—all distinguish them from the ordinary school-masters. Men often fail to discern how much understanding, dexterity, and courage lie concealed under those coarse and simple garments. An adequate instruction—a religious direction given to education, and which is so often entirely wanting to our highly praised popular schools, sufficiently justify parents in confiding to the care of this religious order their dearest pledges. Their statutes forbid the Brothers receiving from families any money for instruction."

The subject of primary or elementary instruction naturally leads us to that of secondary instruction, or the state of the royal and public schools in France: a subject which is now so fiercely agitated in that country, and which indeed stirs society there to its inmost depths. But as this is a question that has been frequently discussed, and whose merits must be tolerably well known to our readers, and as many other important topics are to be brought under consideration, our remarks on this subject shall be brief.

The great obstacle to the triumph of religion in France—that which renders her futurity ever uncertain—that which keeps the revolutionary crater ever open and steaming, is doubtless the odious university monopoly. The university, which owed its existence to the infernal maxim of the Revolution, that "the child belongs to the state rather than to the parent," and was moulded by the genius of Napoleon

into an instrument of his brutal tyranny, embraces in its iron grasp all the educational establishments of France. Although it has ever included among its members estimable men, it has as a corporation exerted the most baneful influence; and while it crushed all wholesome competition in the work of education, it debauched the principles, corrupted the morals, and cramped the intellectual energies of the French youth. Having been in the early part of this century an organ for propagating a gross materialism, it is now become, under the influence of men like Cousin, Michelet, and others, a medium for diffusing the more subtle Pantheism of Protestant Germany. Infidelity, which has been mostly driven from the higher spheres of literature and science, as well as from the upper circles of society, has sought a refuge in the public schools; and wise in her generation, she deems that by obtaining a mastery over the minds of youth, she may one day recover the ground she has lost.

This monstrous monopoly, whose existence is in direct opposition to the charter, and which violates the holiest rights of the family and the Church, it was a crime of the Restoration not to have abolished; and the more so, as according to the constitution, a simple ordinance of the sovereign, without the co-operation of the other branches of the legislature, was adequate to such a purpose. The evil, which under the elder Bourbons* was in some degree mitigated by the co-existence of Jesuit colleges and other clerical establishments, has in consequence of the suppression of the former, and the restrictions imposed on the latter, as well as from the very bad hands into which the direction of the University has

* In the reign of Louis XVIII, the Royal College at Paris that passed for the most religious, was that of Henri IV; yet even there, as we were informed by individuals connected with the establishment, only one half of the students could be prevailed upon to perform their Easter duties. When, in 1828, the Jesuit colleges were suppressed, the magnificent institution of Juilly, in the neighbourhood of Paris, sprang up. In this establishment, conducted by secular priests, a most religious education was imparted, while the secular instruction was superior to that given in the colleges of the University. Within the last few years, this institution has been entrusted to the care of the celebrated Abbé Baulam and Abbé Ratisbonne; and though we cannot speak from personal knowledge of its present state, the names of those distinguished ecclesiastics are a sufficient guarantee to all Christian parents. We understood, some years ago, that several excellent establishments on the model of Juilly, and directed by secular priests, were to be found in the provinces. English and Irish Catholics should never place any child in a private college or academy in France, without first consulting the bishop of the diocese, or well-informed ecclesiastics on the spot, as to the religious and moral character of the establishment. To send any child to a royal or communal college, is to expose his faith and virtue to the most imminent danger.

fallen, been intensely aggravated within the last fifteen years.

The irreligious and immoral character of the public schools, want of space will not permit us to describe. Let us hear the testimony of competent witnesses.

In the year 1831, the celebrated Count Montalembert, who was himself brought up in a royal college, spoke at the bar of the Chamber of Peers as follows: "The ulcer eats into all the institutions and colleges which the University has founded, and to which at her bidding we must deliver up our children, to see them contaminated. Is there a single university establishment, in which a Catholic child can live up to its faith? Doth not scepticism—a cold, tenacious impiety—weigh on all those youthful souls, whose instruction the university lays claim to? Are they not all polluted, or withered up, or petrified? Doth not the most hideous, horrible, unnatural depravity stand recorded in the catalogue of every college, and in the recollection of every child, who hath passed but eight days there? Is not the moral contagion every year more deadly; doth it not annually destroy thousands of children? Even the emperor Julian acted not so; he excluded, indeed, the Christians from the public schools, but he did not force them to send their children thereto, in order to lose their faith and morals."*

No language can be more emphatic. Let us hear what another pupil of the University, thirteen years afterwards, declares on the same subject. In the "*Union Catholique*" he writes, in September 1842, to the following effect: "As I must speak impartially, I must say, that on quitting those wretched schools, my resuscitated faith revived with irresistible force. Let my words be trusted: I would rather expose a child to the breath of the pestilence, than to the air which is inhaled in those unclean places, wherein the hope of religion and the country is polluted." Even the *National*, the irreligious organ of the republicans, in the same month called the education imparted in the University "profligate, immoral, unconnected."

In the month of March, last year, a work appeared from the pen of the Abbé Desgarest, canon at Lyons, entitled "*Le Monopole Universitaire, destructeur de la Religion et des Lois, ou la Charte et la Liberté de l'Enseignement.*" In this work, which we know only by some extracts, it is declared by

* See the pamphlet entitled "Procès de l'école libre."

competent judges, that the charges against the University professors, the college tutors, and the state of religion, morality, and discipline in the public schools, have been victoriously substantiated by numberless documents, wherein successively figure the reports of University inspectors, the testimonies of University rectors, professors, and almoners, extracts from University lectures, and reluctant admissions on the part of avowed advocates of this institution. The work still excites a great sensation in France.

If the University monopoly were suppressed, some bad colleges would, doubtless, still remain; but examples of immorality or irreligious teaching might, as in other countries, be always made amenable to the police tribunals; and the few corrupt schools would soon be thrown into the shade, by the multitude of excellent Christian establishments that would arise on every side, and to which even parents, indifferent themselves to religion, would mostly prefer to entrust their children.

But not less important than liberty of education to the cause of religion in France, is the freedom of the Church herself, which is in so many respects hampered, restricted, and fettered in her operations and her influence.

Of those restrictions, we shall at present point out only the laws against monastic communities of men. From the general revival of Christian feeling in France—from the energy with which, as we have seen, the monastic spirit struggles against the opposition of the law—there can be no doubt, but that, if the legal impediments were removed, the soil of that country would soon be covered with the same multitude and variety of male religious institutes, as it already displays of female communities.

On the latter it is now time to make a few remarks. Nothing can exceed the multitude, the variety, the utility, and the touching character of these orders and congregations of religious women. The object of some is to impart religious and secular instruction to poor children of their own sex, to train them up to habits of virtuous industry, and to procure for them fitting employments on the completion of their term of education. Others devote themselves to the task of reclaiming abandoned women from the paths of vice, as well as of affording a hospitable shelter to unprotected virtue. Others, again, seek out the destitute orphan, and not only impart to him the blessings of a Christian education, but bestow on him shelter, food, and raiment. Many and various are the con-

gregations that minister to the wants of suffering humanity, that smooth the uneasy pillow of sickness, or tranquillize the agitations, and sometimes even reclaim the wanderings of madness, or that breathe into the ears of the dying the immortal hopes and consolations of faith. A few there are who, in the prison and the house of correction, dedicate their time and energies to the most neglected members of society; with the touching persuasion of words and example enlighten ignorance, reform vice, substitute often for the rigours of human justice the tender discipline of the Gospel, and by the majesty of religion overawe reprobate wickedness itself.

Even those orders, whose equally laudable aim is to infuse into the minds of the young daughters of the wealthy and the high-born useful knowledge and elegant accomplishment, as well as religious truths, forget not the sacred claims of poverty; and to their magnificent establishments is generally found annexed a school, where the children of the lower classes receive gratuitous instruction.

Such are the religious and benevolent institutions, that have merited for France at the present day, the glorious title of the classic soil of Christian charity; and would to God! as we before said, the iron severity of revolutionary laws did not hamper, impede, and crush on every side the free expansion of her growing spirit of religion!*

Having now considered the state of religion, as it exists in the various classes composing French society, it remains for us to examine the relations wherein the literature and the public policy of that country stand in respect to the Church. But the extent to which this article has already swelled, will prevent us from doing more than briefly touching upon these important topics.

The growing popularity which, in recent times, Christian literature has enjoyed in France, we have already had occasion to show. But the intrinsic worth of that literature remains to be pointed out; and here we shall take the liberty of citing the testimony of an amiable and talented young writer, who is himself among the recent converts from infidelity to the Church.

* We beg to refer the reader to the Appendix, where he will find fuller details respecting the origin, the object, and the numbers of the various religious orders and congregations of either sex now existing in France. These details cannot fail to interest all our readers, and may be of practical utility to some. They are extracted from the German journal "*Der Katholik*," which is edited by the intimate friends of Dr. Räss, bishop of Strasburg.

"Under the shadow of two powerful intellects,* but above all, under the shadow of the Church, the age has beheld a school of Catholic writers and thinkers spring up, whence young and ardent missionaries have gone forth to lead the way in every path of human knowledge. Nor do we see that for making use of the torch of faith, they have advanced less far, or less rapidly, or less gloriously, than any among their contemporaries. If they be less vaunted in the public journals, they have better repute with the booksellers. What philosophers have ever equalled Count Maistre and the Viscount de Bonald? What Christian apologist has ever had more renown than M. de la Mennais, in the days of his faith and his fidelity? What work has ever been more widely spread than the modest book of Silvio Pellico? What romancer has ever won more favour than Manzoni? What poets ever shone with greater splendour than Victor Hugo and La Martine, both Christian in their early works, which have ever remained their finest? What orators in France are more logical, more eloquent, and more popular, than the distinguished preachers, Messieurs de Ravignan, Lacordaire, Combalot, Cœur, &c.? But without speaking of those whose reputation is well established, let those, who form their judgment of works, not by the puffs of advertisements, but by their own perusal, point out any names in the higher departments of literature to be compared with those of Messrs. Edward Dumont, De Carné, De Montalembert, De Cazales, De Champagny, Sainte-foi, the Abbé Maret, who by his essay on Pantheism has just reached so high an eminence in literature; Artaud, the author of the beautiful 'History of Pius VII.;' Andryane, the energetic painter of Spielberg; Rio, the historian of art; Foisset, the eloquent and witty model of the Christian critic; O'Mahony and St. Victor, so learned and so respectable, that, not content with loving them, we regret not to be able to think with them in all things; Ozanam, the young and eloquent commentator on Dante; Eugène Boré and Abbadie, the missionary travellers, worthy of that noble title, by their courage, their learning, and their piety; Amadée Gabourd, who has just evinced such justness of observation and such superior penetration in his solid summary of our annals, designedly obscured by impiety; Guerrier de Dumast, whose magnificent psalms unite the oriental pomp of thought to the severity of our old French verse; and many other names, that occur not at this moment to our remembrance. This is the devoted phalanx, whose ranks swell every day; this is the harvest of ripe wheat, which will spread over a vast field. Let the writers, who devote their talents to the cause of scepticism, false philosophy, materialism, and so forth, or to the mere passing politics of the day, be on their guard! With all their talents, night is gathering around them; and lo! there is much light elsewhere!"†

* Count Maistre and M. de Bonald.

† *Les Pèlerinages en Suisse* par M. Louis Veuillot, Avertissement, p. vi. vii.

This brilliant galaxy of youthful talent, that adorns and illumines the Church of France at the present day, has not escaped the notice of Mr. Sewell; and the testimony of this able and eloquent writer, who combines in a singular manner strong Catholic feelings and opinions, on certain points, with violent Protestant prejudices on others, corroborates to a great extent the eulogium pronounced by M. Veuillot on the rising literature of his own country.

In the article on Carlyle's works, that appeared in the *Quarterly Review* about two years ago, and which is attributed to the pen of Mr. Sewell, the writer, after speaking of young French writers, "that (according to their own account) have, by the force of their own minds, without other aid, worked their way from the miserable materialism of the French school to spiritualism—from spiritualism to deism—from deism to Christianity—from Christianity (a vague undefined system) to Catholicism," thus proceeds to describe them.

"Their chief maxims," says he, "are such as form a part of the purest Christianity. They make all morality depend on self-sacrifice—all faith on revelation. They explode not only Voltaire and Rousseau, . . . but the more sober didactic sophists of later schools, both in France, Germany, and England. They have repudiated Locke, laid open the real poverty of the Scotch common sense, protested against the fallacies of the new French eclecticism; are fighting earnestly and ably against materialism; are keenly alive to the folly of reproducing classicalism; that is, Greek principles on Christian ground; ridicule most justly the sentimentalities of M. Lamartine, falsely called religious;* and are now unravelling the history of Pantheism in the East, as a warning against the new Pantheism, which they see approaching from Germany."

The above-cited passages, however, convey but an imperfect conception of the growing richness, variety, beauty, and dignity of the French Catholic literature. The most eminent writers of Catholic Germany fail not to express their astonishment at the extent of historical research, and at the profundity of philosophic speculation, displayed in not a few recent productions of their brethren on the left bank of the Rhine. And were it not for many unhappy causes, this literature would be far more flourishing. These causes are chiefly, the political vicissitudes and violent political contests in France, which are inimical to the progress of higher art

* The reviewer must here doubtless allude to the later poems of M. Lamartine; for his earlier ones are eminently religious.

and literature; the absence of all provincial universities, occasioned by the monstrous monopoly of the Paris university; the little favour Catholic talent generally finds from the directors of the latter institution, mainly unfavourable as it is to the Church; the utter want of commercial activity and literary enterprise in most of the provincial cities, doomed under the iron sway of administrative centralization to a death-like stillness; and, lastly, the utter indifference for all religion, that still pervades an immense mass of the population. Indeed, it is with the literature, as with the religion, of Catholic France; the progress of neither is obvious to the first superficial glance. And we doubt not but an Englishman, even a Catholic, having read this account of the religious condition of that great country, strongly supported as it is by foreign as well as native testimony, and proceeding to Paris, and there witnessing the utter demoralization of so large a proportion of the people—the horrid desecration of the Sunday—the obscene romances frequently published—the impious lectures often delivered at the University—and the manifest religious indifference of the greater part of the public journals, would conclude, that to gratify our own religious feelings, we had drawn a far too favourable picture of the state of French society. Yet, after a long residence, maturer experience, and conversation with competent judges, we feel convinced he would retract his charge,

III. Let us now cast a glance at the political institutions of France.

Looking at that country, we there behold three great institutions, that have stood the storms of the revolution, nay, have gathered from its shocks new life and new strength. These are the Church; royalty, and the national representation. The Church, as we have seen, purified and invigorated by persecution, has been gradually regaining the ground she had lost in the last century; and while she has long possessed influence over the nobility and a large mass of the population, especially in the southern and western provinces, she daily gathers round her banner more and more of the literature, wealth, industry, and active talent of the country.

Royalty, after the most dreadful trials and conflicts which any human institution ever encountered, is now acknowledged by many, formerly its most bitter opponents, to be an unavoidable political necessity.

The system of national representation, disgraced as it was by the pedantic follies of the Constituent Assembly, and

polluted by the monstrous tyranny, the atrocities, and the abominations of the Convention, had yet a principle of vitality, that could not be entirely extinguished by even the imperial despotism; while, under the restoration, it attained to an unprecedented degree of dignity, force, and expansion. Since the revolution of 1830, this system has struck still deeper roots into the French soil; and is now recognized by all political parties, *and eminently so by the one which clings with most tenacity to the past*, to be in one shape or another an essential, vital element of all political organization.

Yet, if we look to the distempered state of French society—to the moral and political contests that convulse it—it is easy to perceive that these three great institutions, whereof we have been speaking, have not yet attained to their full degree of developement; and that their mutual relations are not yet duly defined, and surely established. The church, in despite of all her recent conquests, has yet immense masses of men to bring under her moral influence: she has still to impregnate science more and more with her renovating principles, and to vivify art with her sanctifying influences; but, deprived as she is of some of her most valued liberties, she still remains almost an alien from the state.

Royalty, too, in her turn, enthroned on the broken barricades of July, sits like a solitary, unhallowed thing, unblessed by the Church—unsupported by the surviving remnants of aristocracy—unloved by the people—engaged in an unremitting, deadly warfare with the revolution, that hoisted it up into its present perilous elevation; and resting solely for support on a sense of expediency in the majority, and on the mutual fears and jealousies of contending parties.

The national representation, without either an hereditary aristocracy to check the rashness of its legislation, or the spiritual peerage to exert a wholesome moral control over its enactments, is itself far from being the faithful reflection of the various classes composing the commonalty.

The representation is most defective; for neither are the great spiritual corporations—the clerical order and the literary class—nor property in its larger masses—nor even the principle of population duly and adequately represented.

The clergy, entirely excluded from the upper house, has, as a body, no representatives in the lower. The university, extensive and multiform as it is—the institute—and the various literary and scientific academies in the provinces—send not a single member to the Chamber of Deputies.

The great proprietors, who, under the restoration, enjoyed the right of returning members from what were called the "great electoral colleges," have, since the July revolution, been deprived of this privilege; while in the Chamber of Peers, —shorn as it is of its valued rights, and composed principally of Buonaparte's old generals and courtiers, and some civil functionaries and professors nominated by the present government, those proprietors remain almost unrepresented.

The lower classes, that in the old states-general of the monarchy, possessed not, indeed, as was fitting, a direct, but an indirect influence over the representation, by the medium of the various municipal authorities they elected, remain, under the present system, excluded from all participation, direct or indirect, in the election of the popular branch of the legislature. Thus the whole weight of political influence and authority is thrown into the hands of the middle classes and the smaller proprietors.

This vicious system of representation has its origin in that disastrous revolution, which levelled all distinction of classes, and annihilated all corporate rights, all local liberties, all provincial peculiarities, all prescriptive privileges and customs, and produced that state of social equality, which is the proper characteristic of tyranny in its two extreme forms—military despotism, and absolute democracy.*

The system of administrative centralization, the seeds whereof had been sown under Louis XIV, grew into rapid maturity under the anarchy produced by the revolution. And, accordingly, under all the phases of that revolution, from the headlong, violent changes of the constituent assembly down to the monstrous terrorism of the convention, and from the convention down to the imperial despotism, we see how well centralization has subserved the purposes of an anarchic tyranny. Under the restoration, and under the government of Louis Philippe, this system, though of late mitigated, has proved as inimical to the stability of the throne, as to the consolidation of popular liberties.

This system, feeble as it was in the eighteenth century, yet served to undermine the old French monarchy. For the Christian monarchy rests on three columns—the Church, the aristocracy, and the commonalty. Weaken the foundations of

* The living French historian, Capefigue, says, with admirable truth, "*La liberté réelle n'est que dans l'esprit local et provincial, dans l'inégalité des classes, des contrôles et des pouvoirs eux-mêmes. L'Unité, c'est le despotisme plus ou moins brillamment habillé.*"

the first, and ruin immediately ensues. Weaken the foundations of the latter two, and the edifice will totter, become by degrees dilapidated, and eventually fall.

It is remarkable that those provinces of ancient France, like Brittany and some parts of the south (called Pays d'Etats), that, together with other valuable privileges, retained their local legislatures (bereft, however, as those were of their most important rights), were not only the best administered, but precisely those where attachment to royalty was the strongest, and has remained even to this day the most vivid and tenacious. The same is the case in Spain. What provinces have all travellers held to be the most happy and the most prosperous in her monarchy? those which, if all others had resembled them, would have raised Spain to the first rank among nations,—the Biscayan provinces and Navarre. Yet these were the provinces that had preserved their ancient cortes and municipal institutions inviolate; and these were the provinces that in our time have made the most heroic sacrifices in the cause of outraged royalty. Those provinces, on the other hand, which had no voice in the imposition of taxes, or in the framing of laws, that had few guarantees against the encroachments of a degenerate court, have more willingly acquiesced in the decrees of lawless, impious demagogues, and the mandates of ambitious military usurpers. It is the pure atmosphere of freedom,—not vague, indefinite, abstract freedom, but local, prescriptive, and, if we may so speak, *concrete* liberty; it is the pure atmosphere of freedom, we say, which makes nations more clearly perceive the lustre and feel the blessed influences of royalty.

In conclusion, let us take a summary review of the moral and political effects of the revolution of 1830.

The Revolutionists of July, or the majority of those who conducted and seconded the revolutionary movement of 1830, thought they would succeed in annihilating, or at least in weakening and humbling, the Church of France. But what has been the result? By their exclusion from the Cabinet Council, the Council of State, and the Chamber of Peers, the dignitaries of the Church have been sheltered from all political responsibility, and screened from the odium and hostility, whether well or ill-grounded, which the acts of the civil power might provoke. The utter failure, too, of the wicked and extravagant systems of Saint-Simonianism and Philanthropianism, to which the revolution of 1830 had given a momentary vogue; the bitter disappointment felt by many at

the non-accomplishment of their most cherished schemes and fondest hopes; the dark, malignant, atrocious, and utterly anti-social character, which the Republican party in its contest with the new government has exhibited; lastly, the disgust and weariness produced by so many idle systems, the void of scepticism, and the craving of the public mind after a higher and more celestial nurture; all these circumstances have brought back many, especially in the learned and liberal professions, to the maternal bosom of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the force of inward conviction, or the imperious calls of policy, have compelled many, once most hostile, statesmen and politicians, to lend, however tardily and reluctantly, sometimes a covert, sometimes an avowed support to her ministers and her institutions.

The Revolutionists of July, in raising to the throne a prince who had long been their flatterer, and whom they hoped to make their tool and their dupe, imagined they would gradually prepare the way for the utter abolition of monarchy. But the result of this change of dynasty has been the formation of *two* monarchical parties, instead of *the one* which existed under the Restoration; the breaking up of the once compact liberalism into a variety of factions; and the elevation to the throne of a shrewd, sagacious, and active sovereign, who, while in many respects he has given tolerable countenance and support to religion, has foiled the projects, outwitted the manœuvres, and baffled the attempts of the Revolution, as well against the internal tranquillity of his own kingdom, as against the peace and independence of other states.

These Revolutionists thought to destroy the last remnants of the old French nobility, and insure the permanent possession of political power to the new aristocracy of bankers, merchants, lawyers, and professors. But the old nobility, though with few exceptions excluded from political power, have been extending and improving their family estates, cultivating kindly feelings with their tenantry, and keeping up habits of friendly neighbourhood with the new proprietary, called in France *acquéreurs*, who, since the indemnity granted to the emigrants, have felt themselves easier and more secure in their possessions. While their influence as landed proprietors has thus been extending, the nobles have by their warm attachment to the Church, the very many examples of domestic virtue and unfeigned piety they exhibit, the successful cultivation of literature, as well as the able vindication of

religion, whereby many of their body have attained distinction, risen considerably in public estimation. In the meantime, the upstart nobility, who for the last thirteen years have monopolized political power, have been objects of more malignant hatred and fiercer hostility than ever fell to the lot of their predecessors.

On the other hand, it is precisely in the class on which the party in power chiefly depends for support, that religion has within the same period been making the most glorious conquests; and a race of active, intelligent, well-informed young men has sprung up from the middle ranks, distinguished for ardent piety and genuine patriotism, and who in retaining a warm love for liberty and popular representation, have renounced the blind, inveterate prejudices of liberalism against royalty and aristocracy.

Lastly, the July Revolutionists boasted they would relieve the burthens of the people, give greater extension to industry and commerce, enlarge the liberties of the subject, and secure to France greater influence and preponderance in the councils of Europe. It cannot be denied, that since the last revolution, industry has made great advances; but certainly its progress has not been proportionally greater than under the Restoration. It cannot, moreover, be denied, that the foundations of a better municipal system have been laid. But, in other respects, where have all these boastful promises terminated? In a vast increase of taxation, consequent on an augmentation of the military force, occasioned by the diplomatic embarrassments as well as internal troubles, which the last revolution has led to; in the severest laws against the press; in the violation of the solemn pledge given in 1830, respecting liberty of education; and in the political isolation of France.

Urged on by an unseen hand, these Revolutionists helped to erect on their frontier a Catholic state, where the Church has displayed marvellous vigour and fecundity; where the sciences and fine arts are daily cultivated with greater success; where the arts of industry have reached a degree of excellence unprecedented on the Continent; and where, though the political constitution be in some respects very defective, it yet insures the possession of many valuable liberties.

After a recent and vain attempt to disturb the peace of the world, and to intimidate Great Britain and the Continental powers, these July Revolutionists, half in defiance, half in

despair, yet evidently under the guidance of the same invisible hand, are now engaged in drawing round their capital a girdle of fortifications. But these fortresses, utterly unavailable against foreign invasion, will serve only to curb the insolence of a city, that has so long domineered over the French provinces, and menaced the peace and prosperity of Europe. And provided the government of the day be endued with only the most ordinary share of prudence, and be backed by the military force, these fortifications will effectually tend to crush any future insurrection.

In one thing, and in one thing only, have the designs of the authors of the last revolution been realized. They have certainly, as yet, succeeded in excluding from the throne the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. But that this exclusion will be permanent, we confess that from any reasons we are not disposed to believe.

In the meantime, the conduct of a large portion of French Royalists (highly honourable, no doubt, as are the motives of that conduct), cannot be too severely blamed. By abstaining from voting at elections, or, what is still worse, by contracting disgraceful alliances with anarchists, they further the views of the banded foes of the throne and the altar, abandon the defence of the most sacred interests of the Church, social order, and liberty, and thus help to prolong the agony of their unfortunate country; and so far from serving the cause of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, they indefinitely postpone by such short-sighted policy the realization of their own fondest hopes. Whatever may be the mysterious designs of Providence in regard to that illustrious family,—a family that within the last sixty years hath been doomed to pass through such awful trials and calamities (and it was ever the purest, most unsullied members of that house, which have been selected as victims of expiation to Divine justice); whatever, we say, may be the designs of Providence in regard to that illustrious family, the first duty of the true legitimatist is to defend the Church, maintain order and freedom at home, and aid in the observance of justice and good fellowship to other nations. In a word, let the Royalists take care of France, and Providence will take care of the House of Bourbon.

POSTSCRIPT.

The remarks upon the university system in the above pages, were written several months since. Recent events have hastened the crisis of this momentous discussion; and we cannot dismiss the subject, without placing before our readers the real grounds of the opposition to the university, which has become so loud and so universal. With this view we insert one of the most remarkable documents which we have read for a long time,—the memorial addressed to the king by the archbishop of Paris, and the bishops of his province. With the exception of a few of the preliminary paragraphs, we give this able address without curtailment.

Having cited the words of the royal declaration, which express the king's determination to maintain the authority of the state over the instruction of the people, and admitted the justice of this claim, the bishops proceed:

"But the state will not act in person. It must have agents to speak, act, and decide in its name. Now, who is to be the agent of the state in the public schools? Who is to be its authorized representative?"

"Will it be the university?"

"Yes, the university, for all its own dependent establishments.—But it will not, it cannot be the university, for establishments not belonging to the university—for free establishments. For these institutions, though they may not appear dependent on the university, will really be so, and, though they may seem free, will not be so in reality.

"It should be remembered, that, as the result of the monopoly of 1808 was to concentrate all kind of tuition in the hands of the university; so the freedom held out by the charter, ought to furnish every individual with the right, upon certain conditions, of forming and maintaining academies, apart from, and uncontrolled by, the university. Either liberty of education is this, or it is a nullity.

"Now, we ask, what would this right be, what would this liberty be, were the university to retain the office of examining, inspecting, and censuring both men and things, in establishments declared independent of it?"

"Would this be true freedom? Would it not rather be a gross deception, an aggravation of slavery?"

"Yes: this new state would be 'worse than the first;' because the principals and other superiors of the houses thus reputed to be free, would be subject to all the inconveniences of the university, without enjoying its advantages; because they would experience more severity at its hands, as coming before it, either in the light of subjects who have sought to strike off its yoke, and on whom, therefore, now that they are again within its power, its arm will

fall more heavily; or in that of rivals and antagonists, whose opposition may prove dangerous.

"This last consideration is decisive. It is a proverb, that 'no one can be at once a judge and an interested party;' and it is on this principle that the courts admit what are called *récusations péremptoires*. Now, from this principle it is evident, that, were the university to claim any authority over the establishments declared free and independent of it, it would stand towards them in this predicament, for it would be at once judge and party. It would be judge, for it would be empowered to decide their fate; and it would be party, for it would have an interest in embarrassing, undermining, and destroying them; it would be its interest to prevent their formation, and to procure their suppression if already formed.

"We can conceive, then, that the University must remain the supreme judge of its own establishments, to direct their studies and guard their interests; we seek not to interfere. But that it is also to be the judge of houses unconnected with it, and declared free and independent—this is absolutely impossible—it implies a contradiction in terms. Where there is subjection, dependence, constraint, there there is not liberty. We declare, therefore, with the deepest conviction, that freedom of education, that is sincere freedom—or, in other terms, a free competition, under the superintendence of the State, but entirely independent of University control—alone can realise constitutional truth, and fulfil the promise of the Charter, and the word of the king.

"Besides, liberty of education is a consequence of our other liberties, and more particularly of liberty of conscience. How, indeed, is it possible to suppose one without the other? Is it not religious instruction and education that prepare and determine a child's faith, and either fortify it and cherish its growth, or stifle it in the bud? It is unquestionably so. There is not a more intimate connection between the body and the soul, than between the education given to youth, and the faith they will hereafter profess. In both cases there is a certain action, a transmission, a mysterious, but certain influence. If, therefore, a father is not at liberty to choose for his son such masters as he pleases, or if—what is exactly the same—while he has the faculty of choosing, he is unable to find any masters, except those who are all subjected to one monopoly, and are all, in consequence, imbued with the same doctrines, and subservient to the same impulse;—is it not manifest that this father is unable to procure for his son such a direction of thought as he himself believes to be the best, and to secure him such opportunities of religious instruction as his faith prescribes; that thus his liberties as a Christian are violated, no less than as a father, and that he suffers as much in conscience as in paternal feeling, in his rights, as in his duties?

"Free competition, and the abolition of all monopoly, are, on the other hand, the only means of ensuring the interests of education itself.

"It is a singular fact, that the very man who was the least favourable to all kinds of liberties—the Emperor—whom the constitution of his empire, and the fascination of absolute power, afterwards led to create the University monopoly—the Emperor, at the beginning of the consulate, regretted that he could not leave the field open for the competition of the two rival orders—both rivals of the University—the Oratorians and the Jesuits. He once expressed himself to this effect before the whole council of State; and there are still living several who have taken an honourable part in public affairs, to attest the truth of this statement.

"The opinion of M. Talleyrand on this point is well known, though we have to deplore his many errors on other subjects. 'If every one,' says he in his famous *Mémoire* of the 10th and 11th of September, 1791, 'if every one has a right to receive the benefit of instruction, so every one must have a reciprocal right to concur in the task of its diffusion. For it is from the competition and rivalry of individual exertion that the greatest amount of good must always spring. Confidence alone should determine the selection for educational functions. But talent, no matter where it exists, has a right to dispute the prize of public confidence. All privileges are of their own nature odious; but a privilege in the department of education would be the most odious and absurd of all.'

"Indeed in the same proportion as administrative centralization may be good and useful, so intellectual centralization must be fatal and pernicious. And the reason of this distinction is simple. An administration lives by order, and consequently by simplicity of means and unity of action; while intelligence lives by known truths, by acquired and propagated lights; and these are never better secured than by the emulation, the collision, the generous rivalry of minds. The emulation of learned bodies has always favoured the development of studies. Before the revolution, France counted more than twenty rival universities, and a host of religious corporations. Will the studies of those times suffer by comparison with those of the present day?

"But there is one circumstance of which the bishops are bound to inform the king with respectful candour; it is, that free competition, and the abolition of the monopoly, are the only means of restoring security to the mass of Catholics in France, and re-attaching them to our institutions.

"It has been observed, and with perfect justice, that M. VILLEMENOS has LOST TO THE GOVERNMENT IN THREE YEARS, ALL IT HAD GAINED BY TEN YEARS OF COMBAT, PRUDENCE, AND ABILITY. By constantly repeating that the University and the State are but one and the same thing; that the University is the 'State teaching;' that whoever attacks the one, attacks also the other;—has not a conviction been thus created that there is a kind of offensive league against the Church between the state and the University, and that henceforth men must choose between religion

and the king ? This impression is certainly very unfortunate. No one regrets it more bitterly, or condemns it more sincerely, than the bishops ; but still nobody can deny that it exists.

" Now, if free competition is once granted, this impression will cease. The king will be judged more fairly, and the influence of his government will be more cordially received.

" In fine, Sire, and with this consideration we shall close ;—free competition and the abolition of all monopoly, are the only means of securing the interests of religion.

" We pray your Majesty graciously to observe, that for the last thirteen years we have lost the only compensation granted to Catholics, which could render the absence of free education tolerable in their eyes.

" Under the empire and the restoration, the University monopoly existed ; but it was limited by a clause, and was held under a control which gave security to the true faith. At those periods some kind of sense and value were set upon this article of the constitutive decree of the University. '*All the schools of the University shall have for the basis of their teaching the precepts of the Catholic religion.*' If, therefore a monopoly existed, at least it was not a monopoly in favour of Protestantism, Deism, or Pantheism. A Catholic father was constrained as to his choice, but not as to his faith. The University was undoubtedly a prison, but, if the expression be allowed, it was an *orthodox prison*, or at least, legally speaking, it was intended so to be.

" But since that time, things have undergone serious alterations. 1830 came. The thirty-eighth article of the decree of 1808 fell into disuse. The university has been emancipated, but not the father. The state professors alone, profiting by the larger portion of liberties conceded by the new charter, have felt themselves at liberty to dare all in their lectures ; and yet parents are still left under the obligation of yielding their sons up to this education.

" Thus, the monopoly has remained what it was, only stripped of the guarantee of orthodoxy which it then afforded to families. We are now bound to men who are no longer bound themselves ; they have liberty to propagate error ; we have none to avoid it.

" Was it possible that such a degree of servitude, on the one hand, and so much licence on the other, should not have proved baneful to religion ? It *has* been so. The tree hath brought forth its fruit. Our youthful generations have been fed and gorged upon it. The evil has run with giant strides ; and if there be any remedy still left, it is because truth and faith have, in our country, a vital power and a promise of longevity which neither a few men nor a few years can destroy.

" And when we affirm, sire, that since 1830 the professors of colleges have imagined themselves free from all doctrinal restrictions in their lectures, we say a thing that is made evident to every attentive and candid man, by their own confessions, by their lessons, by their own works, by the very conduct of the university.

Thus, what do these blind men answer to those who suspect their belief and denounce their teaching? Why, they answer that we wish to fetter thought, that we wage war with intelligence and with the right of free examination. Now, does not this amount to asserting that the thirty-eighth article of the decree of 1808 has been abrogated, and that, thanks to this reform, every professor, henceforward—not only as a private individual, but as a public functionary, as a master of youth, in fine, as a *professor*,—is fully and entirely independent in regard to belief?

"They declare it also in their lectures, as MM. Michelet and Quinet have so unfortunately proved in that too notorious publication, which is but a reproduction of their oral lectures, and whose appearance his majesty's government has deplored no less than we do our ourselves.

"They declare it also in their works, as may be too easily seen by any one who passes in review all the anti-Christian positions they have advanced relative to God, to the creation, to nature, to man, to the incarnation, to free-will, to the distinction between good and evil. It would be too tedious for us to enter into the detail.

"But even the university herself declares the same thing after her own fashion, and so as to allow no possibility of misconception. Where is the man to whom she has prescribed a serious obligation of teaching the true and pure doctrines of Catholicism? During the last thirteen years, though so many professors have been appointed, has there been, *a priori*, one single such recommendation?

"Works hostile to religion are every day presented to the learned world. Such works are frequently published by professors of colleges, or by still higher functionaries. What does the university do? Why, she takes these very works under her especial protection; she approves, recommends, even imposes them on the pupils, and by converting them into class-books, ensures at one stroke the fortune of the authors, and the perversion of the readers. She names, indifferently, as professors, men of all religions, and even men of no religion.

"For instance, there are Protestants who teach history, there are Jews who teach philosophy; nay, there are Pantheists to direct and inspire the very school devoted to the instruction of the future masters. And if any alarm arises in a religious point of view, in consequence of so fatal a system of instruction, the university utterly disregards it; she supports her men, promotes them to still higher dignities, to honours still more flattering, to independence still more complete; and they, of course, increase both in audacity and violence. The bishops have bestirred themselves, and the university is astounded at their audacity. The bishops have complained, and the university cries out at the scandal. It was not her fault that they have not been punished and imprisoned. Unable to procure the repression of the attempt in this way, she has had recourse to the arms at her own disposal: she has refused licenses to demands

grounded on the very best recommendations; she has urged the minister of public worship to enforce the rigorous execution of the ordinances; and instead of the promised liberty, she has made the yoke of the monopoly still more oppressive. Yet, notwithstanding all this, sire, the bishops have merely protested against doctrines more fatal to the university than her most bitter enemies could ever be; against doctrines that, in fact, differ only from downright atheism, because their professors fortunately recoil in alarm at their consequences.

"We shall not examine how far a government, which seriously aims at self-preservation, may, or ought to extend the liberty of religious opinions to this unlimited license of philosophical speculation. It is impossible that a necessity so fatal should exist; but even supposing the state to be under the yoke of such a fatality, still, the liberty granted to professors ought not to be made the most intolerable of servitudes for the rest of the community, by depriving fathers of the means of preserving the faith of their children.

"One of two things, then:—either the thirty-eighth article of the Constitutional Decree of 1808 must be re-established, with all its consequences; or, in virtue of the sixty-ninth article of the charter, liberty of instruction must be granted, with all *its* consequences; that is, with free competition, the abolition of all monopoly, and entire independence of university control. If the thirty-eighth article is re-established, then the university should be Catholic in her teaching, and the first act of her authority, or rather the first evidence of her repentance, should be to do justice on those men and on those books which, in her name, are perverting, in the most flagrant manner, the Catholic youth of France.—If, on the contrary, liberty of instruction is granted, the university must forego her monopoly, and leave the field free to every one who may choose to put his sickle into the harvest.

"In the first case, there will not be liberty for any one. It will not be competent to fathers to entrust their children to any hands but those of the university; but neither will it be competent to the teachers of science to mingle the poison of error and unbelief therewith. One slavery will console us for the other.

"In the second case, there will be liberty for all. The university will be free to diffuse her doctrines as she understands them; but the believer will be free to prepare the antidote; the bishops will be able to protect Catholic families against the seductions of a corrupt education. There will be a struggle between the good and evil. The parents will choose between them. One liberty will render the other tolerable. Life and death will be offered to all. Each, at his own risk and peril, will present to his own lips, or those of his son, that fruit which he may deem the better. This will be better than the rule under which we now live, and which may be translated by these three words—Liberty for the university—Slavery for every one else—Death for all!

"And if we have given the alternative, if we have asked either

liberty, or the return of the university to its original constitution, which would impose upon it the obligation of exclusively Catholic teaching, it is not that we have thought the latter branch of the alternative really practicable. No, we should be told, while there is liberty of conscience, the university cannot be exclusively Catholic. But, if so, you must necessarily admit to us, that liberty of conscience should imply a system of instruction freely and securely Catholic ; and this it never can be under the regime of the university monopoly.

" This would, perhaps, be the fittest place to discuss what should be done regarding the certificates of university studies, at present required for the examination for the *baccalaureat-des-lettres*, and regarding the baccalaureat itself, at least on the scale now established ; to discuss whether it would not be wiser to decide the claims of aspirants to educational offices from the amount of their knowledge, than from the place where they acquired it ; whether the degree of bachelor should be always, and in the same way, the necessary condition, and as it were the only door to all the liberal professions ; lastly, whether the power of conferring this degree should still be vested exclusively in the university, which would, in effect, be to invest it with that monopoly against which we exclaim.

" But we feel that the discussion of these questions would carry us beyond the limits which we have prescribed for ourselves. The solution, besides, will be found to be contained implicitly in the general considerations already submitted.

" We will not even speak, sire, of our *petits seminaires*, because, now-a-days, the question no longer regards them. Three years since it did ; and, indeed, at that time we took no further interest in it. Less intimately acquainted than we are now with the true state of affairs, we hardly thought of anything beyond merely stipulating for the interests of our ecclesiastical schools. Now-a-days we demand more, because experience has been multiplied, and new lights have burst upon us. We know the university better. The university, whether it will or not, whether it know it, or know it not, never at any time possessed, and least of all now, the confidence of the Catholics and the episcopacy. The least that can be said of it is, that it is a rudderless ship, tossed by every wind of doctrine. It would be far more than rigour to invent a new system which would compel the entire body of Catholic youth to continue to peril their souls therein.

" And let not any one reproach us with undue severity towards the university. We repeat it, the university has not, and cannot have, the confidence of the Catholics of France ; because, in order to possess it, it should be a Catholic university, which, legally speaking, it never can be. This follows from the very principle it invokes, and the elements of which it is composed.

" Every thinking mind is naturally filled with anxiety for such a

state of affairs, and the bishops most of all. But, happily, the charter promises its aid, and the king has just declared that he will realize its promises. We place our trust in both. They will prevail over the afflicting circumstances in which we are placed, and will save at once the faith, the liberty, and the peace of France.

"Yes, sire, the peace of France, and the most indispensable ground of its security have hitherto been too much compromised. They may be compromised still more seriously. The question has grown with the time: the irritation has become more deep and more universal. How much more wisely would the Minister of Public Instruction have acted, how much more judicious would have been his devotion to the king, if, instead of aggravating, for the last three years, the burden of the university monopoly, he had yielded to the just remonstrances of the bishops. The measures which would then have sufficed to pacify the religious discontents, would not now suffice any longer. What would suffice now, will not suffice hereafter: Your majesty may judge of it from the event. A few months since, the interests which now absorb us were but an imperceptible point: now they have grown into a mighty question of vast importance, and pregnant with danger.

"May the hands which, for thirteen years, have conjured up so many storms, have power to prevent those which are again threatening!

"Let the king hearken, at last, to the voice of the Church! She demands that liberty which the Charter promises, and which our necessities require.

"To grant this, will be to realize the wishes of religion and of the Catholics of France. It will be to recognize one of the most sacred, though hitherto least respected, rights of paternal authority and paternal affection.

"But it will also be to watch over the most serious liberties of France; for we are persuaded, that all her prosperity and all her glory are linked with her faith, as all her dignity and all her power are bound up with her wise and well-ordered liberties.

"We should, regret, Sire, to submit to your majesty a demand, the difficulty of acceding to which, will, doubtless, add to your painful anxieties, were we not convinced that, in offering to the king this testimony of our personal confidence and respect, we are defending the interests of the state no less than those of religion.

"We may appear an occasion of present embarrassment to the Crown; but all the dangers of the future lie in the University.

"We remain, respectfully, Sire,

"Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servants,

"✠ DENIS, Archbishop of Paris,

"✠ PHILIP F. Bishop of Blois,

"✠ L. M. Bishop of Versailles,

"✠ AUGUSTE, Bishop of Meaux,

"✠ J. J. Bishop of Orleans."

ART. II.—*History of the Conquest of Mexico*. By W. H. Prescott. 3 vols. London: 1843.

WHETHER it is the first occupation of a vacant territory—or the necessity of providing room and subsistence for a superabundant population—or the higher claim of civilization over barbarism—or yet the nobler motive of diffusing the mild light of Christianity over a darkened land—that confers a title to territorial acquisitions, the man who regards his character, as a subject of the British empire, cannot presume to visit the spirit of conquest with a sweeping censure. Were we to practise this self-denying virtue, we might be called upon to prove our own title to the Canadas, or produce evidence of the right of the grocers of Leadenhall-street, to the possession of their Indian empire. We might be forced to call Anson a pirate, Clive a robber, the conqueror Assaye a soldier of fortune, Cornwallis and Wellesley tyrants and oppressors. We should no longer be startled at the defence of Warren Hastings by Erskine, which was, in substance, that the rule of an Indian viceroy, necessarily harsh and coercive, can be measured by no standard of equity. We should be driven to admit, that the Afghans scarcely deserved to be punished by the slaughter of their young men and the razing of their cities, for the questionable offence of repelling the invaders from their soil; that the Chinese sinned not in attempting to “throw physic to the dogs,” and refusing to be drugged with opium. Nor could we be sure, that our countrymen, the other day, were warranted in buying the land of the New Zealanders, against their will, and shooting them for refusing to accept a promise of the purchase money.

We might learn much from those who have gone before us, were we not too proud to accept the lesson. The innumerable inventions, which are the boast of our own times, are yet the necessary results of the wants of society, and do not justify the affectation of superiority over the middle, or, as they are absurdly called, the dark ages. Much has been lost to mankind, by the decline of that generous spirit of enthusiasm, which prompted such an enterprize as the Crusades. Unhappily, the adage, “might makes right,” is now more true than ever. A chivalrous and gallant nation may be blotted from the map of Europe, with impunity: for, in these enlightened days, no war is undertaken, except for the sordid advancement of selfish ambition.

At the period of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, this spirit of chivalry was not extinguished in Europe. The last quarter of the fifteenth century, is, undoubtedly, the grandest epoch in the history of Spain. The struggle with the infidel, begun seven centuries before, terminated at length in the triumph of Castilian valour, when the gentle Isabella beheld the consummation of her fondest hopes—the banner of the cross floating proudly on the towers of Alhambra. Influenced by no less lofty motives, she favoured the great scheme of Columbus; and, indeed, such was the character of the age, that, although many a reckless and profligate adventurer followed the fortunes of the great navigator, yet a sort of rough enthusiasm gave a more elevated tone to their feelings; and many a one of them flattered himself, that he was but continuing, in the New World, the war with the infidel he begun in the Old. The atrocities committed by many of the Spanish adventurers were grievous indeed; but they were never tolerated or connived at by the Spanish sovereigns. Such an enormity as, “a Commando against the Caffres,” would never have been sanctioned by a Castilian monarch. Queen Isabella always evinced the most tender concern for the Indian races; her great successor imitated her example, and established the most admirable regulations, which were as strictly enforced, in his transmarine dominions, as the great distance of the seat of government would allow.

Although the conquest of Mexico has already furnished some of the most interesting chapters in many a narrative of the colonization of America, we are glad that Mr. Prescott, already known by his “*History of Ferdinand and Isabella*,” has made it the subject of a separate history. It has been well remarked, that there is often much more of romance in a narrative of actual occurrences, than in the most highly coloured fictions. That a vast region, measuring, perhaps, a fourth of Europe, and inhabited not by the Caribe of the islands, or the feeble native of Peru, but by the boldest and most warlike of all the American races, should have been completely subjugated, within three years, by a handful of Spaniards, is marvellous enough; but more marvellous still, that the leader of the host was a young planter from the islands, without military experience, holding no direct commission from the sovereign, and so far from receiving the support of the colonial authorities, thwarted and opposed, nay, threatened with destruction, at every step of his pro-

gress—yet surmounting these unheard-of difficulties by the unbounded resources of his daring genius.

Mr. Prescott devotes a considerable space to an essay on the antiquities of the New World, upon which he agrees, in the main, with the views of Mr. Stephens, and the more recent French writers, on this interesting topic. Having already examined the question at some length, in a separate article, we shall, for the present, confine ourselves to the history of the conquest.

Fernando Cortez was born at Medellin, in Estremadura, in 1485. Having followed the stream of adventure to the western hemisphere, he first distinguished himself in 1511, by serving as a volunteer under Diego Velasquez, in the reduction of Cuba. Seven years after, Velasquez selected him as the commander of an expedition destined for the conquest of the mainland, which had been recently discovered by Grijalva and his associates. But Velasquez, already jealous of the great abilities exhibited by the young adventurer, would have revoked the commission, had not Cortez baffled him, by his sudden departure, with a force consisting of but five hundred and fifty Spaniards. Having reached the peninsula of Yucatan, he commenced that system of conciliation to the Indians, upon which he always acted from choice, for he rebuked his lieutenant Alvarado, who had arrived before him, for some excesses of his followers, and ordered reparation to be made. In an interview with the natives, at the river Tabasco, this simple people shewed such ignorance of the nature of the horse, that, upon hearing some troop horses neigh, and being told by the Spaniards, in answer to their enquiry of what the animals said, that the horses were complaining of their having fought against them, they offered them turkey-hens and roses to eat. Having chosen Chiahuitzla (the modern Vera Cruz) as the head of a colony, Cortez resigned his commission into the hands of the new municipality (whom he procured to be elected according to the Spanish usage), on the ground that Velasquez had no authority to confer the extensive powers he required, and from them received the appointment of captain-general, until the pleasure of the crown should be known. Before quitting the coast, he adopted the bold expedient of dismantling the vessels, upon the discovery of a plot among some of his followers, to escape to Cuba: as if he was resolved "to set his life upon the cast." After a decisive victory over the hardy republicans of Tlascala, he had the good fortune to convert

them into faithful allies, and proceeded on his march to the city of Cholula.

It was here that Cortez first had a full perception of the sanguinary horror of the Mexican superstitions; for he discovered, that six thousand victims were annually immolated to the god Quetzalcoatl alone. Shocked by such abominations, he was about to repeat the error he had committed at Cempoal—substitute Christianity on the ruins of idolatry by force—but Father Olmedo wisely rebuked his indiscreet zeal; yet, with the reverend father's full approval,

“The Spanish general had the satisfaction to break open the cages in which the victims for sacrifice were confined, and to dismiss the trembling inmates to liberty and life. He also seized upon the great teocalli, and devoted that portion of the building, which, being of stone, had escaped the fury of the flames, to the purposes of a Christian church; while a crucifix of stone and lime, of gigantic dimensions, spreading out its arms above the city, proclaimed, that the population below was under the protection of the cross. On the same spot now stands a temple, overshadowed by dark cypresses of unknown antiquity, and dedicated to our Lady de los Remedios. An image of the Virgin presides over it, said to have been left by the Conqueror, and an Indian ecclesiastic, a descendant of the ancient Cholulans performs the peaceful services of the Roman Catholic communion, on the spot where his ancestors celebrated the sanguinary rites of the mystic Quetzalcoatl.”—vol. ii. p. 35.

The pyramid of Cholula will still be visited by the curious antiquary; but an object, we think, of more affectionate interest, rears itself in sight, the modern city, founded at the time of the conquest, and appropriately, indeed, called Puebla De los Angeles. In Mr. Bullock's elegant narrative of his visit to Mexico, he gives free scope to his admiration of the various beauties of this magnificent city, in which all the arts have been more especially consecrated to the honour of the Giver of all good. Its fifty churches, its innumerable monasteries and convents, the various seminaries, the hospitals for the reception of the infirm and poor, entitle it to rank, Mr. Bullock thinks, beyond the most favoured cities of Italy and Old Spain. He declares, that the clergy of La Puebla are the most pious, learned, and polite ecclesiastics in the world; indeed, the splendour of the religious processions, and the dignity of the public worship, seem to have excited a better feeling than mere curiosity in his breast. He was peculiarly struck with the edifying spectacle of the washing of the feet of twelve poor men by twelve of the first per-

sonages of the city, on Holy Thursday, who, combining charity with humility, took them from the church to their own mansions; having undertaken their support for the year. The noble convent of San Filipe Neri is an institution of a peculiar kind. Seventy penitents, of whatever ranks they may be, are always entitled to spend eight days of religious retirement within its cloisters, at the expense of the foundation; and it is calculated, that one thousand persons, annually, avail themselves of the happy privilege. The charitable institutions of Naples lately formed the subject of an article in this journal; we can now point to the same spirit producing similar effects in this city of the far west. Well may Thomas Carlyle exclaim—"The great antique heart!"

From the summit of the lofty pass, between the giant peaks of Popocatepetl and Iztacuhuitl, the Spaniards first beheld that glorious valley of Mexico, extending seventy miles in length by sixty in breadth, which Mr. Prescott, having himself enjoyed the same spectacle with Cortez, so eloquently describes.

"They had not advanced far, when turning an angle of the Sierra, they suddenly came upon a view, which more than compensated the toils of the preceding day; it was that of the valley of Mexico, or Tenochitlan, as more commonly called by the natives, which, with its picturesque assemblage of water, woodland and cultivated plains, its shining cities and shadowy hills, was spread out like some gay and gorgeous panorama before them. In the highly rarefied atmosphere of these upper regions, even remote objects have a brilliancy of colouring, and a distinctness of outline, which seem to annihilate distance. Stretching far away at their feet, were seen noble forests of oak, sycamore, and cedar; and beyond, yellow fields of maize, and the towering maguey intermingled with orchards and blooming gardens; for flowers, in such demand for their religious festivals, were even more abundant in this populous valley, than in other parts of Anahuac. In the centre of the great basin, were beheld the lakes, occupying then a much larger portion of its surface than at present; their borders thickly studded with towns and hamlets; and in the midst—like some Indian empress, with her coronal of pearls—the fair city of Mexico, with her white towns and pyramidal temples, reposing, as it were, on the bosom of the waters—the far-famed Venice of the Aztecs. High over all rose the royal hill of Chapoltepec, the residence of the Mexican monarchs, crowned with the same grove of gigantic cypresses, which at this day fling their broad shadows over the land. In the distance, beyond the blue waters of the lake, and nearly screened by intervening foliage, was seen a shining speck, the rival capital of Tezcuco, and still further on, the dark belt of Porphyry,

girdling the valley round, like a rich setting, which nature had devised for the fairest of her jewels."—Vol. ii. p. 47.

The despatches of the conqueror himself most graphically describe the curious site of the great city, built in an island, lying towards the western side of the great salt lake of Tezcuco, and accessible only by four causeways; along the principal, or southern one of which, the Spaniards entered the capital, on the 8th November 1519, escorted by Montezuma and the flower of his court.

The palace of Axayatl was appropriated as the barracks of the Spaniards, being itself sufficient to accommodate the whole army. The stupendous public works, the aqueducts, temples, markets, excited the wonder of the strangers, and they were perfectly dazzled by the splendour and magnificence of the royal palaces. The most luxurious residence of the Aztec monarch was the royal hill of Chapultepec, which stood in a westerly direction from the capital, its base washed in that day by the waters of the lake. Montezuma's garden stretched for miles along the base. Of the luxuriance and beauty of the vegetation we have some traces at the present day.

"On entering the gardens of Chapultepec," says Mr. Ward, "the first object that strikes the eye, is the magnificent cypress, called the cypress of Montezuma. It had attained its full growth when that monarch was on his throne, so that it must be now at least four hundred years old; yet it still retains all the vigour of youthful vegetation. The trunk is forty-one feet in circumference; yet the height is so majestic, as to make even this enormous mass appear slender."—*Ward's Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 230.

But Cortez was inexpressibly shocked by the diabolical cruelty of the Mexican superstitions; nor without reason, when we are told that 20,000 human victims were annually sacrificed in the capital alone. At the coronation of this same Montezuma, 30,000 are reported to have been immolated. Certain days were signaled by the slaughter of hecatombs of human victims to the goddess Tonantzi and the demon Huitztopochtli. Cortez describes the appearance of some of the idols he had seen in simple and forcible language.

"The figures of the idols, which these people believe, surpass in stature a person of more than ordinary size; some of them are composed of seeds and leguminous plants, such as are used for food, ground and mixed together, and kneaded with the blood of human hearts, taken from the breasts of living persons, from which a paste is formed in sufficient quantity to form large statues. When these are completed, they make them offerings of the hearts of other

victims, which they sacrifice to them, and besmear their faces with the blood. For every thing they have an idol." &c.—*Cortez's 2nd Despatch*, p. 117.

These, it may be said, are the opinions of a rude soldier of the sixteenth century. Mr. Prescott does not appear more enamoured of the state of Mexican civilization; for he thus delivers judgment on the institutions of the Aztecs:—

"In surveying them, we are strongly reminded of the civilization of the East; not of that higher, intellectual kind, which belonged to the more polished Arabs and Persians, but that semi-civilization which has distinguished, for example, the Tartar races, among whom, art and even science have made indeed some progress in their adaptation to material wants and sensual gratification; but little in reference to the higher and more ennobling interests of humanity."—vol. ii. p. 120.

Our author, we perceive, is bold enough to insinuate, that true civilization can only be found in connection with Christianity; and, we can almost imagine, he would share the pleasure with which Mr. Bullock beheld a scene, at Xalapa, which he thus describes:—

"A large proportion of the congregation were Indians, who had come to market, and it was really a pleasing sight to observe with what attention and devotedness this simple and innocent people, the descendants of cannibal ancestors, performed their acknowledgments to their Creator."—*Bullock's Mexico*, p. 49.

Cortez was now in possession of the capital, and even compelled the residence of Montezuma in the Spanish quarter; but his labours were only in their commencement, and in the month of May 1520, he was startled from his security by the approach of danger more menacing than any he had yet surmounted. He received information, in the first instance, from Montezuma himself, that another body of Spaniards had arrived upon the coast of Mexico. For, Narvaez, a commander of great experience, who had been sent, by Velasquez, from Cuba, with the largest force he could muster, in order to overwhelm Cortez, had actually sent notice of his approach to the Mexican monarch, adding, that he was only coming as his friend and deliverer. Cortez never, upon any former occasion, exhibited greater presence of mind, for he effectually dissembled his alarm; and, leaving a small garrison under Alvarado in the capital, he quitted it himself, in order to go in search of his rival, about the end of May 1520. Marching rapidly, he soon left Cholula, Tlascala, and other towns behind; and though the number of his toil-

worn followers was not more than a quarter of the force under Narvaez, he was the more emboldened to proceed, when he learned that his rival had taken shelter at Cempoella, from the unusually heavy rains, to which his own hardy veterans were almost indifferent. Mr. Prescott's narrative of the night attack on Narvaez's quarters, and the victory of Cortez, is one of the most effective passages in the work. We take it up where the brigade had arrived at the Rio de los Canaas.

"That stream was now converted, by the deluge of waters, into a furious torrent. It was with difficulty that a practicable ford could be found; the slippery stones, rolling beneath the feet, gave way at every step. The difficulty of the passage was much increased by the darkness and driving tempest; still, with their long pikes the Spaniards contrived to make good their footing, at least all but two, who were swept down by the fury of the current. When they had reached the opposite side, they had new impediments to encounter, in traversing a road, never good, now made doubly difficult by the deep mire and tangled brushwood with which it was overrun."—vol. ii. p. 234.

The hardy veterans were much inspirited by encountering here a cross they had erected upon their former march, and in the stillness of the night performed their devotions in the most solemn and reverential manner. Then, while the soldiers of Narvaez were indulging in a false security at Cempoalla—

"Silently and stealthily they held on their way, without beat of drum or sound of trumpet, when they suddenly came on the two sentinels, who had been stationed by Narvaez to give notice of their approach. This had been so noiseless that the videttes were both of them surprised on their post, and one only with difficulty effected his escape, the other was brought before Cortez. Every effort was made to draw from him some account of the present position of Narvaez; but the man remained obstinately silent, and though threatened with the gibbet, and having a noose actually drawn round his neck, his Spartan heroism was not to be vanquished. Fortunately no change had taken place in the arrangements of Narvaez, since the intelligence previously derived from Duero. The other sentinel, who had escaped, carried the news of the enemy's approach to the camp, but his report was not credited by the lazy soldiers whose slumbers he had disturbed. 'He had been deceived by his fears,' they said, 'and mistaken the noise of the storm and the waving of the bushes for the enemy. Cortez and his men were far enough on the other side of the river, which they would be slow to cross on such a night as this.' Narvaez himself shared in the same blind infatuation, and the discredited senti-

nel shrunk abashed to his own quarters, vainly menacing them with the consequences of their incredulity. Cortez, not doubting that the sentinel's report must alarm the enemy's camp, quickened his pace. As he drew near he discovered a light in one of the lofty towers of the city. 'It is the quarters of Narvaez,' he exclaimed to Sandoval, 'and that light must be your beacon.' On entering the suburbs, the Spaniards were surprised to find no one stirring, and no symptom of alarm. Not a sound was to be heard, except the measured tread of their own footsteps, half-drowned amid the howling of the tempest. Still they could not move so stealthily as altogether to elude notice, as they defiled through the streets of this populous city. The tidings were quickly conveyed to the enemy's quarters, where, in an instant, all was bustle and confusion. The trumpets sounded to arms, the dragoons sprang to their steeds, the artillerymen to their guns. Narvaez hastily buckled on his armour, called his men around him, and summoned those in the neighbouring teocallis to join him in the area. He gave his orders with coolness, for, however wanting in prudence, he was not deficient in presence of mind or courage. All this was the work of a few minutes; but in those minutes the Spaniards had reached the avenue leading to the camp. Cortez ordered his men to keep close to the walls of the buildings, that the cannon shot might have a free range. No sooner had they presented themselves before the enclosure, than the artillery of Narvaez opened a general fire; fortunately, the pieces were pointed so high that most of the balls passed over their heads, and three men only were struck down. They did not give the enemy time to reload; Cortez, shouting the watchword of the night, 'Espíritu Santo! Espíritu Santo! Upon them!' In a moment Olid and his division rushed on the artillerymen, whom they pierced or knocked down with their pikes, and got possession of their guns. Another division engaged the cavalry, and made a diversion in favour of Sandoval, who, with his gallant little band, sprang up the great stairway of the temple. They were received with a shower of missiles—arrows and musket-balls—which in the hurried aim and the darkness of the night did little mischief. The next minute the assailants were on the platform, engaged hand to hand with their foes. Narvaez fought bravely in the midst, encouraging his followers; his standard-bearer fell by his side, run through the body; he himself received several wounds, for his short sword was no match for the long pikes of the assailants. At length he received a blow from a spear, which struck out his left eye. 'Santa Maria!' exclaimed the unhappy man; 'I am slain!' The cry was instantly taken up by the followers of Cortez, who shouted 'Victory!'—vol. ii. p. 235.

Returning to Mexico the commander of the troops levied for his destruction, Cortez deemed his conquest well nigh completed. But it was far otherwise, for he found that the

rashness of Alvarado had disconcerted his whole policy. The whole population of the capital had taken up arms against the strangers, and the accidental death of Montezuma, in one of the furious assaults of the Mexican populace upon the Spanish garrison, left Cortez no alternative but to evacuate the city, which he proceeded to effect at night, along the western causeway (the shortest), which led to Tacuba. That fatal night is still commemorated in Spanish story, as *La Noche Triste*; and Mr. Prescott's description exhibits its horrors in startling reality before us. A machine had been constructed, which was to be successively laid across the three openings in the causeway, for the passage of the troops. Unhappily it stuck immovable in the first, and during the delay and the confusion, myriads of the enemy attacked them at once from land and lake. A cry of despair was raised by the Spaniards, and, as we are told—

"Each thought only of his own life. Pressing forward he trampled down the weak and the wounded, heedless whether it were friend or foe. The leading files, urged on by the rear, were crowded on the brink of the gulf; Sandoval, Ordaz, and the other cavaliers, dashed into the water; some succeeded in swimming their horses across, others failed, and some who reached the opposite bank, being overturned in the ascent, rolled headlong with their steeds into the lake. The infantry followed pell-mell, heaped promiscuously on one another, frequently pierced by the shafts, or struck down by the war-clubs of the Aztecs; while many an unfortunate victim was dragged half-stunned on board their canoes, to be reserved for a protracted but more dreadful death.

"The carnage raged fearfully along the narrow causeway; its shadowy bulk presented a mark of sufficient distinctness for the enemy's missiles, which often prostrated their own countrymen in the blind fury of the tempest. Those nearest the dike, running their canoes alongside with a force that shattered them to pieces, leaped on the land and grappled with the Christians, until both came rolling down the sides of the causeway together. But the Aztec fell among his friends, while the Christian was borne away in triumph to the sacrifice. The struggle was long and deadly. The Mexicans were recognized by their white cotton tunics, which showed faint amid the darkness. Above the combatants rose a wild and discordant clamor, in which horrid shouts of vengeance were mingled with groans of agony, with invocations of the saints and the blessed Virgin, and with the screams of women, for there were several women, both native and Spanish, who had accompanied the Christian camp. Among these, one named Maria de Estrada, is particularly noticed for the courage she displayed, battling with broadsword and target, like the staunchest of the warriors.

"The opening in the causeway meanwhile was filled up with the

wreck of matter which had been forced into it,—ammunition wag-gons, heavy guns, bales of rich stuffs scattered over the waters, chests of solid ingots, and bodies of men and horses, till over this dismal ruin a passage was gradually formed, by which those in the rear were enabled to clamber to the other side. Cortez, it is said, found a place that was fordable, where halting, with the water up to his saddle-girths, he endeavoured to check the confusion, and lead his followers by a safer path to the opposite bank.”—vol. ii. p. 333.

By the desperate exertions of the commander, and his gallant cavaliers, the shattered remnant was at length, in the grey of morning, mustered in the street of Tacuba; and, it is said, that Cortez became more than ever endeared to his followers, when they beheld the tears rolling down his manly cheek for the loss of the hundreds of his brave comrades, who had perished in that miserable rout. It was therefore perhaps they more readily followed him to the storming of an Indian *teocalli*, which crowned the hill, and where they found provisions, and, what was more important, repose after their fearful struggles. Halting but for the day, the Spaniards began their retreat to the coast that very night, harassed occasionally by flying parties of the Mexicans; but, on the seventh day afterwards, as they were descending from the heights which overlook the plains of Otumba, they believed their last hour was almost come, when they beheld myriads of the Indian enemy in array before them. The ascendancy of Cortez over his hardy followers was never more fully proved, for he succeeded in inducing them, as the only means of safety, to attack their foes without delay. The combat was long and doubtful, and as the lordly stag will eventually be pulled down by the multitude of the hounds he holds at bay, the Spaniards might probably have been overpowered from mere physical exhaustion, so fearfully did their enemies outnumber them, but for the characteristic decision and intrepidity of their heroic commander. It is well told by the historian:—

“The tide of battle was setting rapidly against the Christians. The fate of the day would soon be decided, and all that now remained for them seemed to be to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

“At this critical moment, Cortez, whose restless eye had been roving round the field in quest of any object that might offer him the means of arresting the coming ruin, rising in his stirrup, descried at a distance, in the midst of the throng, the chief, who from his dress and military cortège he knew must be the commander of the barbarian forces. He was covered with a rich surcoat of feather-

work; and a panache of beautiful plumes, gorgeously set up in gold and precious stones, floated above his head. Rising above this, and attached to his back between the shoulders, was a short staff, bearing a golden net for a banner—the singular, but customary symbol of authority for an Aztec commander. The cacique, whose name was Cohuaca, was borne on a litter, and a body of young warriors, whose gay and ornamental dresses showed them to be the flower of the Indian nobles, stood round as a guard of his person and the sacred emblem.

“The eagle eye of Cortez no sooner fell on this personage than it lighted up with triumph. Turning quickly round to the cavaliers at his side, among whom were Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, and Avila, he pointed out the chief, exclaiming, ‘There is your mark! Follow and support me!’ Then, crying his war-cry, and striking his iron heel into his weary steed, he plunged headlong into the thickest of the forces. His enemies fell back, taken by surprise, and daunted by the ferocity of the attack; those who did not were pierced through with his lance, or borne down with the weight of his charger. The cavaliers followed close in the rear. On they swept, with the fury of a thunder-bolt, cleaving the solid ranks asunder; strewing their path with the dying and the dead, and bounding over every obstacle in their way. In a few minutes they were in the presence of the Indian commander, and Cortez, overturning his supporters, sprang forward with the strength of a lion, and striking him through with his lance, hurled him to the ground. A young cavalier, Juan de Salamanca, who had kept close to his general’s side, quickly dismounted and dispatched the fallen chief. Then tearing away the banner, he presented it to Cortez, as a trophy to which he had the best claim. It was all the work of a moment. The guard, overpowered by the suddenness of the onset, made little resistance, but, flying, communicated their own panic to their comrades.”—vol. ii. p. 364.

The exclamation of Cortez reminds us of the *Ὁρω τον ἀνδρα* of the younger Cyrus, but the result was different indeed, as it effectually restored the prestige of the Spanish name.

Nine months were spent in the necessary preparations, and a flotilla having been launched at Tezcuco, on the opposite side of the great salt lake, Cortez was again, on the 10th of May 1521, in position opposite to the devoted city. It was while preparing for the final assault that he gave an extraordinary instance of his acquired self-command. A plot for his destruction had been laid by a private soldier named Villafagna, an adherent of his old enemy, the governor of Cuba, and was only disclosed to him on the eve of its completion, by one of the associates, who relented. Cortez having had Villafagna instantly arrested, at dead of night, got possession of the aper which bore the names of the conspirators, and, like

King Henry, was grieved to find the names of many on whom he relied most strongly. But with admirable discretion, he issued a proclamation to the army, stating that the traitor had died without a confession; and contented himself with the execution of Villafagna alone. One check more, however, he was doomed to experience, before the final consummation of his hopes. The army was divided into three brigades, in order to assail the capital on three sides at once, and the general had ordered that upon every simultaneous advance of the three corps, the breaks in the causeway should be carefully filled up in their rear. Unhappily the officer appointed to this duty, the royal treasurer, Juan de Alderete, had neglected it in the ardour of pursuit, when suddenly the horn of Guatemozin sounded from the great teocalli, and the Aztecs, in countless thousands, fell upon the astonished Spaniards. The confusion seemed dreadful as that of *La Noche Triste*, and Cortez himself, as we are told, narrowly escaped destruction in his exertions to restore order.

"His person was too well-known to the Aztecs, and his position now made him a conspicuous mark for their weapons. Darts, stones, and arrows, fell around him thick as hail, but glanced harmless from his steel helmet and armour of proof. At length, a cry of *Malintyrn ! Malintyrn !* arose among the enemy, and six of their warriors, strong and athletic men, rushing on him at once, made a violent effort to drag him on board their boat. In the struggle he received a severe wound in the leg, which for the time disabled it. There seemed to be no hope for him, when a faithful follower, De Olea, perceiving his general's extremity, threw himself on the Aztecs, and with a blow cut off the arm of one savage, and sheathed his sword in the body of another. He was bravely supported by a comrade, named Serma, and by a Tlascalan chief, who, fighting over the prostrate body of Cortez, despatched three more of the assailants, though the heroic Olea paid dearly for his self-devotion, as he fell, mortally wounded, by the side of his general. The report soon spread among the soldiers, that their commander was taken; and Quinones, captain of his guard, with several others, pouring in to the rescue, succeeded in disentangling Cortez from the grasp of his enemies, who were struggling with him in the water, and raising him in their arms, placed him again on the causeway. One of his pages, meanwhile, had advanced some way through the press, leading a horse for his master's rescue. But the youth received a wound in the throat from a javelin, which prevented him from effecting his object. Another of his attendants was more successful. It was Guzman, his chamberlain; but as he held the bridle while Cortez was assisted into the saddle, he was seized by the Aztecs, and with the swiftness of thought, hurried away in their canoes.

The general lingered, unwilling to leave the spot while his presence would be of the least service. But the faithful Quinonez, taking the horse by the bridle, turned his head from the breach, exclaiming at the same time, that 'his master's life was too precious to the army to be thrown away there.' Yet it was no easy matter to force a passage through the press. The surface of the causeway, cut up by the feet of men and horses, was knee-deep in mud, and, in some parts, was so broken that the water from the canals flowed over it. The crowded mass, in their efforts to extricate themselves from their perilous position, staggered to and fro like drunken men. Those in the flanks were often forced by the lateral pressure of their comrades, down the slippery sides of the dike, when they were picked up by the canoes of the enemy, whose shouts of triumph proclaimed the savage joy with which they gathered in every new victim for the sacrifice."—vol. iii. p. 126.

Order was eventually restored in the Spanish lines by the exertions of Cortez and his gallant brethren in arms, but unhappily no less than sixty-two had been captured, destined victims to the war god of the Aztecs. Bernal Diaz, "the untutored child of nature," as Mr. Prescott styles him, pathetically alludes to the horrid fate of his comrades, in his simple and unvarnished story :

"Where are now my companions ? they have fallen in battle, or been devoured by the cannibal, or been thrown to fatten the wild beasts in their cages ! They, whose remains should rather have been gathered under monuments, emblazoned with their achievements, which deserve to be commemorated in letters of gold ; for they died in the service of God and of His majesty, and to give light to those who sat in darkness !"

Diaz was attached to the division of Alvarado, which was posted nearest to the great Teocalli, and which had to endure the unutterable agony of witnessing the immolation of their unhappy countrymen, as Mr. Prescott so affectingly describes it, without the power to rescue them from their tormentors.

"As the long file of priests and warriors reached the flat summit of Teocalli, the Spaniards saw the figures of several men, stripped to their waists, some of whom, by the whiteness of their skins, they recognized as their countrymen. They were the victims for the sacrifice. Their heads were gaudily decorated with coronals of plumes, and they carried fans in their hands. They were urged on by blows, and compelled to take part in the dances in honor of the Aztec war-god. The unfortunate captives, then, stripped of their sad finery, were stretched, one after the other, on the great stone of sacrifice. Their breasts were heaved up conveniently for the diabolical purpose of the priestly executioner ;

who cut asunder the ribs by a strong blow with his strong razor of ityli, and thrusting his hand into the wound, tore away the heart, which, hot and reeking, was deposited in the golden censer before the idol. The body of the slaughtered victim was then hurled down the steep stairs of the pyramid, which, it may be mentioned, were placed at the same angle of the pile, one flight below another; and the mutilated remains were gathered up by the savages beneath, who prepared with them the cannibal repast, which completed the work of abomination."

Such a monster is man, the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals, when left to the darkness of his own understanding! Such are the cruelties which dark systems of error stimulate him to inflict on his fellow-creature, whether as the victim on the Mexican stone of sacrifice; or as the gladiator in the arena—

"While thro' his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower;"—

or the mangled sufferer, torn by wild beasts in the amphitheatre. And there be men, who swear by Gibbon, who elevate the rhapsodist into the historian—him, who chose the wretched Julian for the hero of the piece; that Julian, who preferred the sophistries of Libanius to the teaching of the apostles; the lost sheep, that quitted the green pastures to tempt the wildness of the barren waste!

From the manner in which Mr. Prescott pronounces judgment on the usages of the Aztecs, he shows himself worthy to sit in the chair of the historian.

"The Aztecs not only did not advance the condition of their vassals, but, morally speaking, they did much to degrade it. How can a nation where human sacrifice prevails, and especially when combined with cannibalism, further the march of civilization? How can the interests of humanity be consulted, where man is lowered to the rank of the brutes that perish? The influence of the Aztecs introduced their gloomy superstition into lands, before it or where it was not established in any great strength. The example of the capital was contagious; as the latter increased in opulence, the religious celebrations were conducted with still more terrible magnificence; in the same manner as the gladiatorial shows of the Romans increased in pomp with the increasing splendour of the capital. Men became familiar with scenes of horror, and the most loathsome abominations: women and children, the whole nation, became familiar with and assisted at them. The heart was hardened; the manners were made ferocious. The feeble light of civilization, transmitted from a milder race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims, through the empire,

were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets. The whole land was converted into a vast human shamble. The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time."—vol. iii. p. 192.

The capture of the emperor Guatimozin having terminated the resistance of the Mexicans, nine hundred Spaniards entered the capital, on the 27th July 1521, conquerors of millions. One of the noblest incidents of the first crusade was the immediate assumption of the humble guise of penitents by the warlike followers of Godfrey, as, with streaming eyes and reciting the litanies, they severally entered the holy places consecrated by the footsteps of the Redeemer. With a similar feeling of religious enthusiasm, we are told:—

"A procession of the whole army was then formed, with father Olmedo at its head. The tattered banners of Castile, which had waved over many a field of blood, now threw their shadows on the peaceful array of soldiers, as they moved along rehearsing the Litany, and displaying the image of the Virgin, and the blessed symbols of man's redemption. The reverend father pronounced a discourse, in which he briefly reminded the troops of their great cause of thankfulness to Providence for conducting them safe through their long and perilous pilgrimage; and dwelling on the responsibility incurred by their present position, he besought them not to abuse the rights of conquest, but to treat the unfortunate Indians with humanity. The sacrament was then administered to the commander-in-chief and the principal cavaliers, and the service concluded with a solemn thanksgiving to the God of battles, who had enabled them to carry the banner of the cross over the barbaric empire."—vol. iii. p. 189.

One of the first objects of the conqueror's care, was the reparation of the ruined capital; and we have the testimony of many a modern traveller to the grandeur of designs which have produced so magnificent a result.

But the hero did not limit his views to architectural embellishments; although it was only in the year 1523, and after the receipt of his third despatch, that he first received the official recognition of his brilliant services, in being appointed governor and captain-general of New Spain. The fourth of his own despatches contains an interesting detail of his multitudinous labours in the administrative department; and a variety of wise and provident suggestions for the government of the conquered provinces; but above all, to his everlasting honour, for the effectual protection of the Indian races. The Cardinal Lorenzano, archbishop, successively, of Mexico and of Toledo, who first edited these remarkable state papers, in 1770, expresses his admiration thus:—

"This conquest took place in 1521, and in three years after, Cortez, in his despatch, speaks as if fifty years of wise government had elapsed. I shall ever reverence Cortez, and respect his name as that of a civil, military, and religious hero, unexampled in his career ; a subject, who bore the freaks of fortune with fortitude and constancy, and a man destined by God to add to the possessions of the Catholic king a new and larger world."

The earnestness with which Cortez presses his suggestions for the propagation of the gospel, is evidence of the strength of early impressions among a Catholic people, by whom religion is felt, not idly talked of ; of whose daily existence it is an integral portion, not the fitful fever of an hour. We see how readily they were adopted by the great Charles.

"In obedience to these suggestions, twelve Franciscan friars were embarked for New Spain, which they reached early in 1524. They were men of unblemished purity of life, nourished with the learning of the cloister ; and, like many others, whom the Romish Church has sent forth on apostolic missions, counted all personal sacrifices as little in the sacred cause to which they were devoted.

"The presence of the reverend fathers in the country was greeted with general rejoicing. The inhabitants of the towns through which they passed, came out in a body to welcome them ; processions were formed of the natives, bearing wax tapers in their hands, and the bells of the churches rung out a joyous peal, in honour of their arrival.

"Houses of refreshment were provided for them along their route to the capital ; and when they entered it, they were met by a brilliant cavalcade of the principal cavaliers, with Cortez at their head. The general dismounting, and bending one knee to the ground, kissed the robes of Father Martin of Valencia, the principal of the fraternity. The natives, filled with amazement at the viceroy's humiliation before men, whose naked feet and tattered garments gave them the aspect of mendicants, henceforth regarded them as beings of a superior nature. The Indian chronicler of Tlascala does not conceal his admiration of this edifying condescension of Cortez, which he pronounces one of the most heroic acts of his life."—vol. iii. p. 235.

One of these holy confessors, Toribia de Benevente, was called *motolinia* (poor man) by the affectionate Indians. It is of him that a contemporary has given this character :—

"He was a truly apostolic man, a great teacher of Christianity beautiful in the ornament of every virtue, jealous of the glory of God, a friend of evangelical poverty, most true to the observance of monastic rule, and zealous for the conversion of the heathen."

Upon learning that he had become an object of suspicion

to the court, with characteristic magnanimity Cortez returned to Europe in 1528, to assure the emperor in person of his loyalty and truth; and he was received in a manner worthy of both. Various dignities, together with the hand of the daughter of Count D'Aguilar, his earliest patron, were conferred upon him. After an interval of three years, he returned to Mexico with the commission of commander-in-chief only, the civil government being, for the present, wisely entrusted to the Audiencia. He spent the next ten years in fitting out various expeditions, which, unhappily, produced no better result than to necessitate his return to Europe, in order to defeat the machinations of those who were jealous of his fame. Though only welcomed with cold civility, he still accompanied Charles in the disastrous expedition to Algiers; and had he not been refused permission to lead an assault, piracy might have been extinct in the Mediterranean three centuries before Bourmont planted the banner of the lily on the citadel of Algiers. A fever, brought on by vexation, terminated his existence, soon after his return to Spain, in the year 1547, and in the sixty-second of his age.

When we have said of Cortez, that he was a brave soldier, a skilful general, a statesman of profound wisdom and sagacity, we shall have done but scanty justice to his merits. For it is only from the circumstance, that his brilliant exploits were performed on so distant a theatre, that he is not more generally acknowledged as the equal of the wisest and greatest of mankind. Statesmen are honoured, who faithfully discharge the ordinary routine of duties prescribed to them; and generals, who lead the armies of their country to victory, receive their well-earned laurels; but here was a general, who himself created the army with which he conquered; a statesman who organized new empires to govern.

Like another Cæsar, he was capable of writing his own commentaries in the tent from which he could behold the barbarian enemy. The despatches of Col. Gurwood exhibit, to be sure, in a high degree, the administrative capabilities of an illustrious chief; but it must be admitted, that Cortez was eminently superior in creative power. A man, who trusting to no power external to his own genius, was able to wield the most heterogeneous materials into one solid mass, which, moved by his will, was to overcome all obstacles to his success; who first chastised into submission, and then converted into useful allies, the barbarian natives of the Terra Templada, and induced the proud hidalgos of Castile

to stand shoulder to shoulder with the despised heathen ; who availed himself of every obstacle, that would have overwhelmed all but him, as an instrument, and had the prudence and virtue to reject the temptation of casting off his allegiance to a power which had given him no sign of encouragement in the height of his travail.

But we dwell, with additional pleasure, on the gradual building up of the moral man ; for we see him steadily correcting the faults of his character ; and when once invested with high responsibilities, discharging them like a man deeply influenced by the moral sense. A reference to his will may best explain our meaning.

"By another clause he gives away considerable sums in charity, and he applies the revenues of his estates in the city of Mexico, to establish and perfectly endow three public institutions—a hospital in the capital, which was to be dedicated to our Lady of Consolation ; a college in Cojihunean, for the education of missionaries, to preach the Gospel among the Indians ; and a convent in the same place, for nuns. After stating that he has taken all possible care to ascertain the amount of tribute formerly paid by his vassals to their native sovereign, he enjoins on his heir, that in case those they have hitherto paid shall be found to exceed the right valuation, he shall restore them a full equivalent. In another clause he expresses a doubt, whether it is right to exact personal service from the natives ; and commands that a strict enquiry shall be made into the nature and value of such services as he had received, and that in all cases a fair compensation shall be allowed for them ; and, lastly, he makes the remarkable declaration—'It has long been a question, whether one can conscientiously hold property in Indian slaves. Since this point has not yet been determined, I enjoin it on my son Martin, and his heirs, that they spare no pains to come to an exact knowledge of the truth ; as a matter which deeply concerns their consciences as well as my own.'"

Although the country has lately passed through the fiery ordeal of revolution, these institutions, founded by the conqueror, are to this hour in as efficient operation as ever ; indeed religion principally has proved the bond that held all the elements of society together. Of its influence on the happiness of the lower classes, Mr. Bullock saw a delightful instance in a procession at Xalapa.

"The sight of which, (he says,) gave me much greater pleasure than any I had witnessed in the great cities. It was the sacrifice to the Almighty of a simple, innocent, and happy people, who were performing a religious duty to their Creator, in a manner, which, to them seemed most acceptable. The procession consisted of several

thousand Indians, perfectly clean, orderly, and well dressed."—*Six Months in Mexico*, p. 469.

At the time of Cortez's death, the controversy was not decided, as to the lawfulness of the Repartamientos or allocation of native labour. But all who have written on the subject, and chiefly Robertson, testify, that the clergy here, as in more favoured regions, uniformly took the side of the weak, and to the honour of the Spanish monarchs, be it remembered, that they merely tolerated this violation of natural liberty, as long as the anomalous condition of a newly-settled country seemed to require it. Certain it is, that the Spanish conquest effected a happy change in the condition of the mass of the natives. The strangers did not introduce slavery, but emancipated them from the thralldom in which they were held by the Aztecs, whose position resembled that of the Tartars in China.

The New England pilgrims, with the haughty fanaticism of their sect, believed themselves endowed with the prerogatives of a chosen people, and waged a war of extermination with the red man. In Mexico, the Church has bestowed a paternal solicitude upon Indians, and cherished them as her children.

"In the Mexican churches (says Mr. B.) we do not meet with the distinction of pews and seats, so universal with us. Here, on the same floor, the poorest Indian and the highest personage in the land, mix indiscriminately in their prayers to that Being, to whom earthly distinctions are unknown."—p. 147.

In the rest of North America, the red men must be sought beyond the Mississippi. In Mexico their numbers are known to have been steadily increasing. Under the Aztec rule, the odious rite of human sacrifice, together with other cruelties, abolished by Christianity, made a fearful drain upon the population. Humboldt states, that the population of Mexico would have doubled itself in cycles of nineteen years, but for a disease, called Mallazahuatl, peculiar to the Indians, which swept off, it is said, two millions in one year. The mining population amounts to about fifty thousand, and their condition is far superior to what the disclosures of Lord Ashley's Factory Commission prove to be the lot of a similar class in "Merrie England."

"The rude figure or print of a saint, and generally a few trays of earthenware, serve as ornaments, and constitute their finery, yet I have never seen a people more happy and contented."—*Bullock's Six Months in Mexico*.

The literary merits of Mr. Prescott's history, place it entirely beyond the reach of criticism; but, in a moral point of view, it is even more valuable, as it enlightens all the nations of the English tongue, upon the public opinion, and the sense of moral obligation existing in a much-calumniated age. Mr. Prescott, by carefully consulting all the original authorities, has, as it were, called up the men of the sixteenth century, for the judgment of posterity. Once, indeed, in attempting to be flippant upon a topic of solemn concern, he has ventured beyond his depth; but, in consideration of the pleasure he has afforded us, we shall not breathe towards him any harsher sentiment than a prayer, that the ignorance which has occasioned it, may not be perpetual.

ART. III.—*Rome, her Tenets and her Practices.* In a Sermon by Richard Mant, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore: Preached November the 5th, 1843, in the Magdalen Asylum Episcopal Church, Belfast; and published at the Request of the Congregation. Belfast, Dublin, and London: 1843.

THE history of a work often throws light upon its interpretation. Sophocles was accused of madness, and produced the *Œdipus Coloneus* as his vindication. Dr. Mant was taxed with papistical inclinings, and published his "Sermon for the Fifth of November" as an answer to the charge. Though the coincidence is a remarkable one, we must not be understood as urging it further. Dr. Mant is not, we trust, in the predicament of Sophocles; and his sermon has but little in common with the *Œdipus* beyond this parallelism of origin, if such it can be called.

To those who have read his Lordship's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, it may seem strange that he could ever be suspected of papistical tendencies; for assuredly never was there published, under the title of history, such a tissue of undisguised and unmitigated bigotry. And yet, strange as it may appear, so it has been. In these suspicious days, no orthodoxy, however stern, is beyond the reach of slander. In an evil hour for the anti-Romish fame which he so fondly cherishes, Dr. Mant published certain translations of *Hymns from the Roman Breviary*. He had the still greater misfortune to connect himself with a notoriously Puseyite archi-

tektural society; and he completed his ruin by publishing a diocesan mandate for the "Prayer for the Church Militant." To the ears of the anti-formal puritans of the north, this was the very shibboleth of Puseyism; and the appearance of the mandate was the signal for open and simultaneous rebellion. From the highest to the lowest, from the churchwarden to the parish beadle, the whole flock was thrown into commotion. Requisitions were signed; meetings were held; resolutions were adopted; and so loud and so sturdy was the storm of resistance, that even in the recesses of his palace the bishop, high-churchman as he is, quailed before its rising vehemence. He felt that he had gone too far, and that some step was necessary in order to lay the spirit which his indiscreet zeal had evoked.

One might naturally suppose that a formal declaration of his sentiments,—of his unaltered allegiance to England, and undiminished hostility to Rome,—would best answer the object which he proposed to himself. But this might have been open to the suspicion of temporizing; and, as having been prepared for the express purpose, might seem to be a mere expedient suggested by a time-serving policy, rather than an honourable declaration of his real principles. It seemed wiser, therefore, to fall back upon the past, and appeal to what he had already said and written upon this momentous topic, "with the simple object of apprizing those under his pastoral superintendence, and any others who might feel an interest on the subject, of the manner in which he has endeavoured, with God's grace, to discharge this part of his ministry." With this view, therefore, he published the sermon which stands at the head of these pages, which was written and preached more than thirty years ago;—to make it plain to the world, that, independently of all other testimonies of his having been "ready with all faithful diligence," as at his ordination and consecration he promised, "the Lord being his helper, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word," he has availed himself of "several suitable occasions during the last thirty years for raising his voice in this service, both as a priest and as a bishop, against the unscriptural tenets and practices of the Church of Rome." (Pref. p. vi.)

We must say that those for whose undeceiving it has been printed, will be hard to please indeed, if it do not remove every apprehension regarding the orthodoxy of their diocesan. The sermon is a triumphant refutation of the charge of

"Romish inclinings." It has satisfied us, and, we should imagine, may satisfy the most sceptical of his Lordship's accusers, that he is not, has never been, and, in all human seeming, never will be, directly or indirectly chargeable with the crime of entertaining one kindly feeling towards Rome; that it was a black and malicious calumny to impute to him, even in thought, any momentary sin of toleration; that far from shutting his eyes to the consequences of such a measure, he persevered for twenty years to raise his voice on all "suitable occasions" against every attempt to alter the wise laws of the realm on this awfully important question; nay, that he regarded it as a *sacred* and "*divinely inspired*"* duty to continue his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen in that just and necessary degradation and abasement to which they had been consigned by the wisdom and piety of his predecessors in the Church.

As his Lordship appears to be jealous of his anti-Romish fame, we can have no objection that he should set himself right in the eyes of those who had called it into question; and perhaps, having ourselves† once contributed some little to injure this enviable reputation by an allusion to his *Hymns from the Roman Breviary*, we owe him the atonement of making public the real character under which he wishes to be known. If, therefore, he had confined himself to this simple declaration, we should not have thought it necessary to complain. He has an undoubted right, of course, to defend himself, as best he may, from the charge of entertaining opinions unpalatable to his flock, and to declare, as strongly as he pleases, his detestation of Rome and of her doctrines. But he has *not* confined himself to this. Not content with declaring how odious Rome is in his eyes, he does his best to make her odious in the eyes of all his readers; and, in the excess of his zeal, endeavours to compass this object not only by misstating (no doubt unwittingly) her real doctrines, and the arguments by which they are maintained, but by the most sweeping and uncerecermonious mis-

* "Should any reader of these pages be disposed to peruse an awful foreboding of the consequences of the measure alluded to above [Catholic Emancipation], uttered with the solemnity, the earnest conviction of its truth, the conscious integrity and high sense of religious duty, especially the wisdom, the clear discernment and foresight of what I may almost venture to describe as DIVINE INSPIRATION, he may be referred to the speech delivered in the House of Lords by the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, on Thursday the 2d of April 1829, on the subject of the proposed Roman Catholic Relief Bill."—*Sermon*, p. 38, note.

† See Dublin Review, vol. xii. p. 295.

representation of the primitive belief of the Church with which he seeks to contrast them.

Dr. Mant is a high dignitary and an old man. We shall endeavour to hold towards him, though we own it is a difficult task, the language of courtesy which his high station and venerable age seem to require. But while we disclaim all personal disrespect to the dignitary, and put the most charitable construction on the motives of the old man, we shall claim the liberty of dealing with the printed sermon as unceremoniously as it has dealt with us and with our religion.

And, in the outset, we cannot help saying, that it has seldom been our lot to meet a more unamiable production, even when we take into account the very unamiable purpose which it was intended to serve. Other writers, while they denounce Rome in some particulars, do not refuse her credit in others; and at all events express some pity for the blindness, or some sympathy for the deserted and misguided condition of her followers. But, except a pious protestation in one of the concluding pages, there is none of this in the sermon before us. All is censure, bitter angry censure, with a plentiful dash of calumny to season it; all is delineation of the "foul corruption," "preposterous tenets," "feigned miracles," "studied darkness and ignorance," "blind dependence of the people," "preposterous and incredible imaginations," &c., &c., of the Roman Church. There is not a single word of mitigation, or even of pity. It is a true Fifth of November sermon. It cries "Guy Fawkes," and "No Popery" in every page; it smells of tar-barrels and gunpowder from the beginning to the end!

And yet it is obviously an especial favourite with the author. We are informed in the preface that he has preached it no less than seven times during thirty years, beginning with November 5th, 1813, and ending November 5th, 1843. He has brought it before the public on all "suitable occasions" during this period—as a Sunday homily and as a consecration sermon—"as a priest and as a bishop"—for the clergy of Killaloe, and for the clergy of Down and Connor—before the young hope of England in the University of Oxford, and before the wretched outcasts of society in the Magdalen Asylum of Belfast. One might think these facts a sufficient evidence, in all conscience, of his "faithful witnessing" against Rome, and a satisfactory ground for the vindication of his anti-Romish reputation. But they do not satisfy Dr. Mant. He enumerates, besides, in portentous

array, the titles of a host of works in which he has, from time to time, raised his voice against her—commentaries on the Bible, notes to the Book of Common Prayer, lectures for religious societies, visitation charges, speeches in Parliament, cheap tracts for “the masses,” &c., &c.; and is evidently no little amazed at the tenacity of life exhibited by Rome in resisting an assault so formidable and so long sustained. The greater portion of these we plead guilty to the charge of never having seen; and perhaps we may attribute the little apparent damage which our Church has sustained therefrom, to the fortunate obscurity which seems to have hung over them from their origin.

We have said that we feel ourselves bound to this notice of the sermon, by a sort of justice to the author; and we wish it were in our power to secure for him all the publicity which he so much covets. If we had space at our disposal, we should most cheerfully follow him, paragraph by paragraph, and give him every opportunity of stating, on every single point, how little of the Romanist there is in any of his views. But we must reluctantly confine ourselves to one or two heads, taking them in the order in which they stand in his sermon; and it happens, fortunately enough, that we shall thus find an opportunity of advertng to some topics, to which, at the present moment, we should be glad under any circumstances to advert.

For the few last years there has been growing up in a section of the Anglican body, a sort of contemptuous confidence in the view of primitive Christianity, which they have endeavoured to put forward as contra-distinguished from “the modern papal system.” The evidence of the early ages, they contend, holds good against the ultra-Protestant, but it fails to bear out the case of modern Rome. It is clear that the Fathers were not puritans or Low-Churchmen; but they think it equally clear that they were not Papists in any sense of the word: and hence they conclude that the student of antiquity has no resource but in the *via media* which they find in the Church of England as reformed by themselves, through the introduction of the Tractarian principles. We are well aware that there are many in the Tractarian ranks who commenced their career of anti-Protestantism with these views; but who, in the progress of study, have felt the grounds of protest against modern Rome gradually narrowing, and the *via media*, once broad and well defined, sinking away, inch by inch, from beneath their feet. Practices and

principles which, a few years back, they would without hesitation have declared modern, are now easily and freely admitted to be as old as the Church of the Fathers; and, instead of being ranked, as formerly, among "the corruptions of the Papal age," are regarded as part of that enviable deposit which Rome alone has had the happiness to maintain. But though this be true of some of the more learned among the body, there are others who possess not the opportunity, or whose prejudices make it extremely difficult for them, to enter into the real merits of the inquiry, or to persuade themselves that it is *possible* to find in antiquity a sanction for what they have believed from infancy to be peculiar to modern Rome. To readers of this class we are anxious to address ourselves on every occasion which may offer. We are sure there are very many in whose eyes the simple facts stated in our last number* would have borne the unmistakable impress of the very worst days of modern corruption, had we not been able to produce the names of Saints Basil, and Gregory, and Augustine, and Paulinus, as vouchers for their antiquity. We propose, in the present article, to make our comments on Dr. Mant subservient to the same object; and we feel the more imperatively called on to do so by the boldness and unhesitating dogmatism with which (as in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* also) he lays down, as certain and indisputable, propositions which are opposed to the plainest evidences of history.

But before we pass to consider his statements in detail, we shall transcribe one or two passages as a sample of the spirit in which the sermon is conceived. Having described in glowing language the providential discovery of the atrocious treason which the festival is intended to commemorate, and enlarged on the temporal blessings thence accruing to the nation, he passes on to the spiritual fruits which they have reaped from the same memorable deliverance:—

"In a religious view, with which indeed on such an occasion as the present we are principally concerned, the blessings that we commemorate this day, as the consequences of the events to which I have made a transient allusion, are our deliverance from the corruptions of the Romish Church, and our enjoyment of those spiritual benefits which belong to us as members of a Reformed communion. And to him who reflects upon the subject with any degree of considerate respect for the truth of God and the purity

* "Ancient and Modern Catholicity."

of his revealed word, the occasion abounds with topics for the most devout expressions of gratitude to the Author and Giver of all good. For so foul were the corruptions, bound by the authority of the Romish Church upon the consciences of her votaries; so preposterous were the tenets which she imposed as necessary to salvation, and so unwarrantable were the practices to which she gave authority and scope, that the mind of man might well recoil from believing that such things had been, did not the unquestionable evidence of authentic history convince us that they were so, and the no less unquestionable evidence of our senses bear witness that they are. For the satisfaction of those who would be enabled to form a due estimate of the spiritual blessings enjoyed by our Reformed Church, the corrupt opinions and the evil practices of the Church of Rome are matter not of speculation, but of fact."—pp. 8-9.

"But darkness and ignorance in the people were in the judgment of the Romish Church desirable, as a means of keeping them in a state of blind dependence on their governors and teachers, and preserving her own authority undisturbed. Accordingly, whilst the Scriptures were withholden from the laity in general, the service of God abounded in various superstitious rites, by which it seemed to be the design of the Church's ministers to keep a firm hold on the minds of the people: fascinating them into a belief, that these were a sort of sacred and mysterious charms, of which the clergy only possessed the secret; and subserving thereby their own ambitious pretensions, together with that passion, which our Reformers, in the Preface already cited, forcibly describe as "the unsatiable avarice of such as sought more their own honour than the glory of God." Thus what should have been for godly edification degenerated into idle pomp and unprofitable ostentation by means of numberless ceremonies, "the excessive multitude of which" (I again use the emphatic language of our Reformers,) "was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth, Christ's benefits unto us."—p. 23.

He proceeds to enumerate the "foul corruptions" from which England has been delivered, and commences with the "Romish worship of Saints." Having described our corrupt practices in this particular, he passes to the principles on which we rely in maintaining its lawfulness:—

"Now, these practices originate from a false opinion, which the Romanist must of necessity have implanted in his mind, or it were impossible for such to be his conduct. At the first glimmering of this presumption, towards the close of the fourth century, the timid and qualified invocation of martyrs, in funeral orations, or at the seasons of their annual commemorations, was connected with the

expressed cautionary supposition of their being conscious of terrestrial affairs. 'If there be any sense or knowledge of what we do below,' was an usual accompaniment of the earliest invocations. But in process of time, what was at first ventured upon doubtfully and cautiously, was hazarded without scruple or hesitation. This hypothetical form was abandoned; the consciousness of the deceased saint was taken for granted; and on that assumption he was invoked for the benefit of the worshipper. Thus having, in the first place, invested his saints with imaginary attributes, the Romanist is thence led to consider them as fit objects to be addressed in prayer. He supposes them possessed of ability to hear the prayer, and of authority to grant it; or, he supposes them possessed of a meritorious claim, wherewith to appear as the mediators and intercessors between God and men."—pp. 13, 14.

We confess it was the above passage, and the cool, self-assured tone in which it was delivered, that determined us on noticing Dr. Mant's sermon at all. It is a favourite theory of that party to which we have already alluded, that the practice of invoking the saints, though not entirely without ancient authority, yet, in its modern form, is a lamentable perversion of the primitive usage. It began, they say in the rhetorical apostrophes which were usual in the panegyrics of the martyrs, and was originally accompanied by phrases and conditions (such as that referred to by Dr. Mant) which sufficiently qualified both its meaning and its tendency. But, in process of time, there was a gradual sliding from the ancient, to the modern belief and practice. What was first asserted in a loose and figurative sense, gradually passed, as men's minds became more gross, and their conceptions of heavenly things less spiritual, into a hard and consistent theory; expressions originally used in vague oratorical declamation, were applied (contrary to the sense of those who employed them) in the strict and literal meaning; and the whole system of invocation, regular, defined, and consistent, as it now exists in the Roman Church, was reared upon this plausible, but unreal and unsubstantial basis. We have seen this stated so often and in so many shapes, in sermons, pamphlets, tracts, even in religious novels and books of travel, that we must crave the reader's indulgence if we appear to dwell on Dr. Mant's assertion at greater length than an unsupported statement would seem to require.

There is a part of it, regarding which we do not think it necessary to go into any detail of proof. There is not a fact in history more clearly established, than the existence of the practice of invoking the saints, and the belief of the efficacy of their

intercession, at a period long prior to that thus coolly assigned by his lordship, as the date of the "first glimmering of the presumption." A full century and half before, it was so notorious and so familiar, that Origen unhesitatingly appeals to it, as a fact which no one could call in question. "*Who is there that doubts,*" he asks in his twenty-sixth Homily on Numbers,* "but the saints assist us by their prayers, and confirm and exhort us by the example of their actions?" And, indeed, if the practice were not public and notorious among the primitive Christians, how is it that, even in those days of secrecy, the pagans, misled by the appearance which the externals of Christian worship presented, accused the early Christians (as Dr. Mant accuses the Catholics now) of paying *Divine* honour to their martyrs†? That the Christian writers‡ found it necessary to defend the usage against their pagan assailants; (just as we, however feebly, are now endeavouring against his lordship;) and, while they admitted its existence, as we do now, drew the very distinction§ between *supreme* and *subordinate* worship, which is familiar to every Catholic child of the present day? That in those days of persecution, when life was held by a brief and precarious tenure, it was a familiar practice among the faithful, to make a sort of pious contract with one another, that whichever, in the vicissitudes of the time, should first be called to his reward, would continue to intercede at the throne of grace, for his surviving, and still frail and feeble brethren?|| St. Cyprian, who relates this, died in the middle of the third century. And yet Dr. Mant has been preaching on all "suitable occasions" for thirty years, that the first "glimmering of the presumption" was at the close of the fourth century!

This, however, is not the point in Dr. Mant's statement to which we mean to draw attention. He asserts, with equal confidence, a still more astounding proposition; that "the timid and qualified invocations of martyrs, in funeral orations,

* Origenis Opera, tom. ii. p. 273. [Ben. ed.]

† As Eunapius, a Greek philosopher, quoted by Fleury, Hist. Eccles. vol. vi. pp. 605-6.

‡ As Theodoret, whose work, "*Græcarum Affectionum Curatio*," is expressly directed to this object, and abounds with topics still familiar in the mouth of every Catholic.

§ "Not approaching them *as Gods*," says Theodoret, "but beseeching them as *divine men* [*θεῖοις ἀνθρώποις*], and praying them to be ambassadors in our behalf"—*Græc. Affect. Curatio*, Opera, tom. iv. p. 921. [Edit. Halle, 1772.]

|| See St. Cyprian's Letters, Ep. 60, Opera, p. 96. See also *ibid.* p. 181; and for a very interesting example of this practice, compare Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. v. cap. vi. p. 263.

or at the seasons of their annual commemorations, were connected with the expressed cautionary supposition of their being conscious of terrestrial affairs;" and that, "'If there be any sense or knowledge of what we do below,' was a usual accompaniment of the earliest invocations." Now what are the real facts? Not only is it false that such a condition is a usual accompaniment of the prayers addressed to the martyrs by the Christians of the fourth or earlier ages; but it would be difficult to find any point (not an article of faith) more unanimously attested, than the primitive belief, that the souls of the just retained after death a concern for the interests of those who survived them, and a knowledge of the necessities and perils, as well as of the prayers, which they addressed to them, and through them to God. It is true, that St. Augustine will not venture to define *the medium through which* they obtain the knowledge;* but the fact of their possessing it he attests, in common with numberless others among the early fathers. To demonstrate the folly and untenableness of Dr. Mant's proposition, it would be enough to refer to the many examples of *unqualified* invocation, (that is, devoid of the condition which he alleges was usually attached), which are to be found in all the ordinary books of Catholic controversy. But we shall go further, and make it plain that the contrary was the universal belief.

Origen, who died, be it remembered, a century and a half before the "first glimmering" (according to Dr. Mant) of the practice, writes in his Commentary on St. John†—"That the saints, who have departed this life, *continue to feel*

* De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda, tom. vi. p. 386. [Ben. ed.]

The passage is too interesting to be omitted, especially as it illustrates more points of Catholic doctrine than one. Indeed the whole treatise is well worthy of perusal:—

"Although," says he, "this question is beyond my comprehension, namely, how the martyrs assist those whom IT IS CERTAIN THAT THEY ASSIST; whether they are personally present, at the same time in different and distant places, or are understood to be present where the memories of them are, or beyond their memories; or whether, in consideration of them, removed from all human converse in a place befitting their deserts, and yet praying generally for the necessities of suppliants (*as we pray for the dead, though we are not present to them, and know not where they are or what they are doing*); Almighty God, who is every where present, hearing the prayers of the martyrs, grants to men, through the ministry of angels, which is universally diffused, those consolations which He deems fit to grant in the misery of this life, and with wondrous and ineffable power and goodness commends where He pleases and when He pleases, and especially through the memories of them, the merits of His martyrs; this is a thing too lofty for me to reach, and too abstruse for me to resolve."

† Op. tom. iv. p. 273. We need not advert to the circumstance of his quoting the Books of Maccabees, with full authority, as proof of a point of doctrine.

solicitude about the people, appears, from what is written in the Books of Macchabees, many years after the death of Jeremias, 'This is the prophet Jeremias, who prayeth much for the people.' " If it be objected that this solicitude is compatible with ignorance, he declares in another passage—"If we wish to secure the favour of many intercessors, we learn in our Scriptures, that 'thousands of thousands stood before him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand ministered unto him.' Now this multitude, *when they see men*, as though they were kinsmen and friends, imitating their piety towards God, assist them in their struggle to obtain salvation."* And it should not be forgotten, that this is in his work against Celsus, in which it is natural that he should suppress every thing (that could be fairly suppressed) which would weaken his own case against the polytheism of the pagans. He repeats the same doctrine in his first homily on Ezechiel,† and in the third homily on the Canticle of Canticles‡ he declares, that "all who have departed from this life, as they still retain charity towards those who are in the world, so also *take care of their salvation*, assist them by their prayers, and by their intercession with God."

But, perhaps, it may be supposed, that there is something in the fathers of the fourth century especially, which warrants Dr. Mant's assertion. Let us see.

St. Basil, in his book on *True Virginity*, is as express as any of the present day would possibly be. "But why do I speak of individuals?" says he, "yea, rather, the countless multitude of angels, and along with them the blessed spirits of the fathers. For there is none of these who *doth not look down on every place*, [*πανταχ^α καθορ^α*], himself, indeed, invisible to corporeal eyes, but *comprehending all things by his own incorporeal glance*.§

So also St. Ambrose, in his book *On Widows* :

"We must implore the angels, who have been assigned to us as guardians; we must implore the martyrs, on whose patronage we have a certain claim by the pledge of their bodies. They can pray for us, who, though they had some sins themselves, yet have washed them away with their blood. For these are the martyrs of God, our rulers, *the observers* [*speculatores*] *of our life and actions*. Let us not blush to

* Op. tom. iv. p. 273; Contra Celsum, viii. 34, tom. i. p. 767.

† Ibid. ii. 338.

‡ Ibid. ii. 75.

§ Basilii Opera, ii. p. 640. Paris: 1638.

employ, as intercessors for our frailty, those who themselves experienced in life the frailty of the body.”*

St. Gregory Nazianzen abounds with examples. His Homily on St. Athanasius concludes with the following prayer:

“*Look down on us, we pray thee, with placid and benignant eye, and govern this thy people, who faithfully adore the perfect Trinity, which is believed and worshipped in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*”†

His Homily on St. Basil is even more express:

“But thou, O holy and celestial being,” he prays, “look down on us, I beseech thee, from heaven; and either restrain the sting of the flesh, which God hath given us for our discipline, or, at least, persuade us to persevere; direct all our life to what is best; and, when we shall depart from this life, receive us above in the heavenly tabernacles!”‡

Lest, perhaps, these, and similar passages of the same import, may be supposed to be mere oratorical apostrophes, we shall add another passage from the same Father, not open to any such difficulty. It is from a source to which, above all others, as we have already insisted, we should look for a knowledge of *the practice* of the ancients,—we mean, their private and familiar correspondence, in which they resolve the doubts, and direct the consciences of those who apply to them for advice; or detail, in homely and unaffected language, little incidents of contemporary history, trifling in themselves, but yet throwing a light upon the minor observances and pious usages of the time, which it would be idle to look for in the professed historian. Among the letters of St. Gregory, which are very numerous, there are none more charming than those addressed to a matron named Thecla; nor, indeed, do we know, in the whole range of ascetic literature, any instruction at once more solid and more affecting than that with which these simple compositions abound. In one of these letters, while exhorting his correspondent to Christian patience and fortitude under all trials, and especially trials for the faith, he uses the following argument:—“Consider, further, why it is that we are afflicted. Is it not on account of those who are departed? How, therefore, shall we gratify them? Is it not by enduring patiently? Let us, therefore, gratify them

* Ambrosii Opera, ii. col. 200. Ben. ed.

† S. Greg. Naz. Op. i. 397. Ed. Paris: 1609.

‡ Ibid. i. 373.

in this ; for I believe firmly *that the souls of the blessed have a knowledge of our affairs.*" [τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀσθανέσθαι.]

It can scarcely be necessary to appeal to St. John Chrysostom. He lays down over and over again, and proves from the Scripture, that the saints are present at our prayers, [tom. v. p. 257. Ben. Ed.] that their presence defeats and disarms the tempter ; [Ibid. p. 97.] and in the glowing phraseology, which he knows so well to employ, declares, that "their love for their brethren, and solicitude for their welfare, exceeds the love of a father for his children, or the tender affection of a mother in child-bearing." [t. vi. p. 282.]

Having quoted St. Gregory Nazianzen, it may not be uninteresting to hear his namesake of Nyssa also : and we wish we could transcribe the entire discourse from which we are about to cite—that on the festival of St. Theodore the martyr. We defy an Italian Capuchin of the year of our Lord 1844, to crowd into the panegyric of the patron of his church more of the "corruptions of papal Rome" on the doctrine of the invocation of saints, than are to be met in every page of the homily of this illustrious Father. In the prayer with which he concludes, there is a distinct declaration, that "though the martyr has passed away from life, he *knows the sufferings and necessities of man's condition.*"* But in truth every sentence is a recognition of this principle ; for St. Theodore is every where represented as procuring for his clients "suitable gifts" [συμβαίοντα], and, therefore, as cognizant of the particular wants, and wishes of each. What could be more thoroughly "modern" than the following, which is but a small sample of the entire ?

"But he hath left us the memory of his battles as a lesson, assembling the faithful in crowds, instructing the Church, driving away evil spirits, bringing down good angels among us, *procuring all suitable gifts for us from God*, converting this place [the church dedicated to the martyr] into an *hospital for every variety of disease*, a haven for those who are tossed in the sea of afflictions, a store-house for the needy poor, a secure home for the wayfarer, a never-failing place of meeting for those who celebrate the festival. For though we celebrate the festival by an anniversary,

* S. Greg. Naz. Op. tom. i. p. 898. We have dwelt the more on St. Gregory, because a passage is sometimes quoted from his homily on St. Gorgonia, tom. i. 190, which would seem to give a colour to the statement which we are contravening. But it is clear from the context that the question which he raises is not whether the saints are conscious of our praises, but whether, in their already supremely happy state, they derive pleasure from this knowledge.

† Tom. i. p. 1017.

yet the crowd of busy visitors never ceases; and the road presents the appearance of an ant-hill, some coming and others going away.*

We shall add one other beautiful passage, as evidence not alone of the existence of the devotion to the saints, but still more of the extent to which it entered into the every day practice of Catholic piety; and we are quite prepared to believe, that if the statement were not guaranteed by the name of a contemporary writer, it would at once be set down as a "modern" invention. There are few among the minor observances of Catholic countries more odious and disedifying in the eyes of Protestants (and we wish we could confine it to them only) travelling in Italy, than the practice of suspending before some favourite shrine, or altar, or image, little votive offerings of silver, and sometimes even more precious material (often displaying more piety than taste in the donor), in thanksgiving for some favour obtained through the intercession of the saint in whose honour the offering is made. More than once it has been our painful lot, in the church of St. Augustine in Rome, or the Nunziata at Florence, to see the pitying smile, the silent but expressive gesture of horror, and even to overhear the contemptuous and ill-mannered diatribe against this "modified paganism;" and we once remember well—it was in the *Auen-kirche* at Munich—to have seen a very elegant gentleman, whose appearance bespoke but little of the professional saint, express his holy abhorrence of the profanation, by the apostolic gesture of shaking the dust from his shoes, and hastily leaving the church, to escape the contaminating air that circulated within its walls. How we wished that the cold forms of English ceremonial, which not even the genial freedom of Italy can thaw, had permitted us to put into their hands the following passage of Theodoret:—"The temples of the glorious martyrs are splendid and conspicuous, of vast size, studded with every variety of ornament, and emitting a blaze of beauty. Nor is it once only, or twice, or five times in the year, we visit them; but we hold frequent meetings therein; and often times each day we send up hymns to the Lord of the martyrs. And those who are in health pray for the preservation thereof; and those who are wrestling with disease pray for release from affliction; childless fathers pray for children; barren mothers for the blessings of fruitfulness; and those who have been vouchsafed these gifts implore that

* Ibid. 1016.

they may be preserved for them. And those who undertake a journey entreat them to be the companions and guides of the way; and those who have returned home in safety offer an acknowledgment of the favour—not approaching to them as though they were gods, but entreating them as god-like men, and praying them to act as ambassadors on their behalf. And that the prayers of those who ask with faith are successful, their votive offerings, indicative of their cure, plainly testify. *For they hang up models, sometimes made of gold, and sometimes of silver, some of eyes, some of feet, and some of hands; and their Lord accepts these cheap and humble offerings, measuring the gift by the ability of the giver.**

Would it have checked the pious horror of those supercilious critics to have known that their censure fell as heavily on the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries as it does on the simple Italian of the present day? This remarkable passage is taken from the eighth Disputation of Theodoret's *Græcarum Affectionum Curatio*, the professed object of which is a defence of the worship of the martyrs against the pagan writers of his time. We refrain from multiplying quotations from it, bearing directly on the present thesis, because *this very thesis*—"that the saints are cognizant of what passes among men"—is one of the propositions which he *expressly maintains* against his adversaries.†

From "Romish saint-worship" in general, Dr. Mant passes to that of the blessed Virgin in particular; and this of course comes in for the heaviest share of condemnation. He dwells especially on the strong language employed—language which should be addressed to God alone—that we "fly to her patronage;" that we entreat her "to help our frailty;" "to assist us, day by day, in all our calamities, temptations, and dangers;" and conveys that our asking these graces *directly* from her, and not merely asking her to obtain them for us by her prayers from God, is a proof that we address her as the ultimate source of the blessings which we seek. As we have not time to enter fully into this matter here, we shall content ourselves with supposing a single case.

A young lady, of high birth, and great beauty and accomplishments, resolved, notwithstanding all the solicitations of

* Theodoret, Græc. Aff. Curatio, Disp. viii. Opera, iv. pp. 921-2.

† Ibid. pp. 916-17. "Ὅτι ἐπιμελίσθαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δύνανται.

her friends, to retire from the world, and devote herself in celibacy to the service of God. Unhappily for her peace, however, she had attracted the passion of a powerful and influential suitor, who used every means to induce her to abandon her resolution. Finding all his solicitations without effect, he did not hesitate in the end to have recourse to the unholy arts of magic to bend her virtuous determination: but all was unavailing. She placed herself under the protection of her heavenly Spouse, to whom she had consecrated her virginity. She implored Him who had saved Susanna from her accusers, and had strengthened the Christian virgins under their trials. But she was not satisfied with this; she fell upon her knees, and "suppliantly besought Mary, who was herself a virgin, to aid a virgin in her hour of peril,"* not, remark, to pray for her, or intercede with God in her behalf, but *herself to aid her* in her peril. What will Dr. Mant say to this case? Is not this rank popery?—modern popery, too, of the very worst kind; a "literal flying to the patronage" of the blessed Virgin, and beseeching her "deliverance from all dangers." And yet, if Dr. Mant condemn this, he is condemning a virgin, St. Justina, who was martyred in the persecution of Diocletian, and whose history, almost in the very words given above, is told by St. Gregory Nazianzen, not only without a word of surprise, not to say stricture or condemnation, but with all the eloquence of panegyric of which this Father was so accomplished a master.

We pass on to Dr. Mant's strictures on the "monstrous doctrines of Transubstantiation," and the practical consequences which he traces to it, especially the withdrawal of the cup from the laity.

"The next evil practice, which shall be noticed, results perhaps still more directly and palpably from the corresponding corrupt doctrine. The doctrine is that whereby the Romanist is taught to believe, that in the bread and wine, eaten and drunk by our Lord's ordinance in the Lord's Supper, the body and blood of Christ are not 'given, taken, eaten, and drunk, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, by means of faith,' as our Church teaches in her 28th Article of Religion; but that 'the substance of the bread and

* Καὶ τὴν παρθένον Μαρίαν ἰκετεύουσα βοηθῆσαι παρθένῳ κινδυνεύουσῃ.—S. Greg. Naz. Op. tom. i. pp. 278-9. This direct address is (or rather was) in the eyes of the Oxford party, the great source of offence in the practice of Rome. See Tract 90, p. 42. See also Mr. Newman's letter to the Bishop of Oxford. Dr. Wiseman's "Remarks on Mr. Palmer," with the vindication of that publication entitled, "Remarks on the Character of Mr. Palmer as a Controversialist," have set this question, we should hope, satisfactorily at rest.

wine' is literally changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. And the practice is, that the sacramental elements, the mere bread and wine, are worshipped and made the objects of various religious forms and ceremonies, as if Christ himself were substantially and bodily present. The connection between the corrupt opinion and the evil practice is instantly apparent, and may be traced in the records of the Church. It was long before this 'amazing notion' of Transubstantiation, as Archbishop Secker terms it, began to be distinctly and explicitly entertained and asserted; nor was it till the 13th century that it was established as an article of faith."—pp. 19-20.

"And, in the next page, 'Take, eat, this is my body:' 'This is my blood of the New Testament, drink ye all of it.' Such was the language, in which he instituted the Sacrament of the Holy Communion; evidently intending that the bread and the cup should go together, and, as our Church teaches in her 30th Article, 'be ministered to all Christian men alike,' and that they who were partakers of the one, should be also partakers of the other. And so they continued to be administered to the Church of Christ in general, the laity as well as the clergy, for 1,200 years. Until, with the notion of the wine being actually changed into the substance of the blood of Christ, superstitious fears arose concerning it; leading first to the custom of giving the bread dipt in wine, instead of each separately; and at last to a decree, that 'notwithstanding, agreeably to their own acknowledgment, our Saviour ministered both kinds, one only shall be administered for the future to the laity.' A resolution, which might of itself have been sufficient to give rise to doubts concerning the soundness of a doctrine, which, whilst on the one hand it held up the mere elements of bread and wine as objects of religious adoration, on the other led to curtailment of the ordinance, and a denial of the authority of Christ."—p. 21.

It is not easy to know at which end of this bold and sweeping assertion to begin. We had believed, until now, that Dr. Mant was, at least, so far a high Churchman, as to reject the Zuinglian, and even the Calvinistic theory of the sacrament, which he here finds it his duty to profess. But, doubtless, the odious charge of "popish inclinings" has, in this, as in other topics, quickened his perception, and stimulated his orthodoxy. If it be once admitted, as the Tractarians (and, we used to think, Dr. Mant) admit, that in the primitive belief of Christians the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist held a prominent place, it is plainly ridiculous to trace the denial of the cup to the laity, to the "superstitious fears" consequent on the supposed modern introduction of Transubstantiation. For, if it be once believed that Christ is really

present in the adorable sacrament, it becomes, *ipso facto*, and without further inquiry, an object of the most profound religious reverence and awe, (or, in Dr. Mant's phrase, of "superstitious fear,") *no matter whether Transubstantiation is supposed or not.* It is the *presence* of Christ's *body and blood*, not the *absence* of the elements of *bread and wine*, that fills the believer with reverence and fear; and, therefore, the alleged introduction of the latter belief, or, to use the bishop's words, "the notion of the wine being actually changed into the substance of the blood of Christ," even supposing it of modern origin, could not have had the slightest influence in producing this change of discipline.

But, what are the real facts? These fears, to the origin of which Dr. Mant traces the withdrawal of the cup, existed in the third and fourth centuries, just as they did in the twelfth. The Christians of Tertullian's time, were full of the same "painful anxiety [*anxiè patimur*] lest any portion of the bread or of the chalice should fall to the earth,"* as we may suppose in Catholics at the present day: the caution prescribed to the communicant by Origen,† might equally be read in the pages of Benedict XIV, or Cardinal Bona; and, even St. Cyril of Jerusalem, as translated in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, might have taught Dr. Mant, that the "superstitious fears" which he so feelingly deploras, are as old as the awful mystery which they regard. "Give heed, lest thou lose any of it," says he to the communicant, "for what thou lovest, is a loss to thee *as it were from one of thine own members.* For, tell me, if any one gave thee gold dust, wouldest thou not, with all precaution, keep it fast, being on thy guard against losing any of it, and suffering loss? How much more cautiously, then, wilt thou observe that not a crumb falls from thee, of what is more precious than gold and precious stones?"‡

So much, then, for the modern origin of these "superstitious fears." In the second place, it is equally untrue that the usage of giving the bread dipped in wine, instead of each separately, was an invention of the twelfth century, and in consequence of the alleged change of belief on the subject of Transubstantiation. Not to speak of the fact recorded§ of

* *De corona militis*, cited in the note to a passage of Origen, ii. p. 176.

† Origenis Opera, ii. 176. Ben. ed.

‡ Catechetical Lectures, p. 279. Oxford translation. We may add, that the same precautions against the loss of the smallest particle which the Catholics employ, are in use, even at this day, among the schismatical sects of the Oriental Church.

§ Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 44, p. 246.

Serapion by Eusebius, and a similar one related by St. Prosper of Aquitain,* we need but to refer to the decree of Pope Julius,† in the fourth, and that of the Council of Bracara,‡ in the seventh century, as an evidence that it existed long before (though it never was approved by the Church); and, therefore, must necessarily be altogether independent of the supposed doctrinal changes to which Dr. Mant ascribes its introduction.

But, thirdly, to come to the basis of Dr. Mant's whole theory,—the alleged modern origin of the dogma of transubstantiation. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity, to offer a few observations on this topic, of late so vehemently agitated. They are addressed not so much in reply to Dr. Mant, as in remonstrance to those among his fellow Churchmen who profess to venerate the language of antiquity, and to form their belief in accordance with its doctrines.

From the very commencement of the late controversies regarding the Eucharist, it has been studiously laid down as a first principle, that the ancient fathers are silent on the doctrine of transubstantiation; that they taught the presence of Christ's body and blood, but, either are silent altogether, or are expressly opposed to the idea of a change in the natural elements, which is held to be an unwarranted corollary of modern Rome, and a gloss upon the ancient doctrine, originating in the metaphysical subtleties of the middle-age school philosophy. It has been uniformly presupposed, that the words of our Lord, in the institution of the sacrament, "were used in the ancient Church, not as denoting something absent, but as implying the spiritual unseen presence of that blessed Body and Blood, conveyed to us through the unchanged, though consecrated, elements; unchanged in natural substance, changed in their use, their efficacy, their dignity, mystically and spiritually."§ Now what we propose to examine, very briefly, is, the justice of this assumption, so boldly put forward by the new school, both in controversy with us, and in explanation with members of their own communion. The question is strictly a question of fact—whether or not the fathers are silent on the change of the natural elements—and it can only be decided by a reference to the

* See Suicer's *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, ii. 1127.

† Gratiani *Decret.* pars III. *Dist. de consecratione.* Can. *Cum omne.*

‡ Caranza *Summa Conciliorum*, p. 342.

§ Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, p. 131. See also his *Sermon on the Eucharist*, p. 7.

language which they employ in speaking of the blessed Eucharist.

Before we proceed to the critical examination of their language, we would beg our readers to compare the very strongest phraseology employed by the modern Anglicans—by Dr. Pusey, in his sermon or by any of the older divines quoted by him in the appendix,—with any single discourse of the early fathers,—of Justin, or Gregory, or Cyril, or Chrysostom, or Ambrose. We defy any man, after a calm and dispassionate comparison of both, to persuade himself into the belief that they are speaking of the *same sort* of presence, or that they are considering it under the same light. We find in the former, none of those appeals to the omnipotence of God (as an evidence of His power to effect what faith teaches regarding the Eucharist), with which the latter abound;* none of those cautionary admonitions against the evidence of the senses;† none of those illustrations from supernatural, and even from natural changes, which they employ to facilitate the belief of what they preach regarding the sacramental change; no reference to the conversion of water into wine at Cana, as in St. Cyril's lectures;‡ no allusion to the transformation of Moses' rod into a serpent, and its restoration to its natural condition;§ to the change of the water of the Nile into blood, and back again into water;|| or to the sweetening of the waters of Marah, as in St. Ambrose;¶ no appeal to the natural conversion of the food we eat into the substance of our body, as in St. Justin,** and St. Gregory of Nyssa;†† to the liquefaction of wax before the fire,‡‡ or the change of the rain and dew of heaven into the substance of the plants which they fertilize and support, as in St. John Chrysostom. It is plain, in a word, that the moderns, with all their boasted devotion to antiquity, shrink from that which the ancients put boldly and prominently forward; that, strong as, up to a certain point, their language is, beyond this ominous point, they are struck dumb by fear of the twenty-eighth Article; that an unhappy consciousness unnerves their arm, and paralyzes their pen; that, from this point forth, they forsake those whom hitherto they had followed, and thenceforth substitute their own arbitrary and

* As S. Ambros. ii. 337. Ben. ed. See also Damascene. De Fide Orth. lib. iv. p. 317, and Chrys. ii. 394.

† S. Chrys. tom. v. 269. Also S. Cyril, Hier. pp. 271-278.

‡ St. Cyril, Jer. Ibid.

§ St. Ambrose, De Mysteriis, ix. ii. 337.

|| St. Ambrose. *ibid.*

¶ Ibid.

** Opera, p. 98. Ed. Cologne, 1686.

†† Tom. ii. p. 337.

‡‡ Tom. v. p. 269.

modern interpretation, for what, till then, they had religiously drawn from the fountain-head of antiquity. Remarkable as this is in all the Anglican divines, it never struck us so forcibly as on reading Dr. Pusey's sermon, and contrasting it with the ancient originals from which it is mainly taken, and whose language, up to a certain point, it scrupulously adopts as its own. The sermon is, in truth, a string of quotations from the fathers, from the beginning to the end; but, although it is made up, text and notes, of an array of quotations, to prove the *reality* of Christ's presence, and the completeness and intimacy of the *communicant's union* with Him, yet there is a scrupulous avoidance (even when the same discourse,* nay, the same page, and almost the same passage,† which he cites, contains it) of every word, and sentence, and illustration, which supposes or implies a *change of substance*, which would be construed into a sanction of the doctrine of Trent, or come into collision with the ill-omened twenty-eighth Article of England. We could give many curious examples of this remarkable sensitiveness; but we shall content ourselves with requesting the reader to compare the originals of St. Ambrose, "On the Mysteries," St. Chrysostom's homily "On the treason of Judas," his eighty-second homily "On St. John," St. Gregory of Nyssa's "Catechetical Discourse," or St. Cyril's "Fourth Mystagogic Lecture" (all of which Dr. Pusey cites freely and frequently), with the culled and well-weighed digest of them, which he has published in his sermon; and, having read them, side by side, to say whether they are as silent on the question,—“How can these things be?”‡—whether they abstract as completely from all allusion to the mode of the presence, as Dr. Pusey has represented them.

But let us come to examine the words which the Fathers use when speaking of the effect produced upon the material elements of the eucharistic oblation, in order that we may see whether, as Dr. Pusey contends, they represent the elements of bread and wine “as unchanged in material substance,” and merely “changed in their use, their efficacy, and their dignity, mystically and spiritually.” We have been at some pains to examine and classify the various forms of expression which the leading Fathers employ in speaking of the Eucharist; and we shall proceed to submit a few specimens of each class, leaving to the reader, for brevity sake, the task of reducing

* As St. Chrys. Hom. de Proditione Judæ, quoted in p. 20; St. Ambr. De Mysteriis, in p. 6; St. Gregory Nyssen, p. 9; &c. &c.

† As in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, cited in p. 25.

‡ Dr. Pusey's Sermon, p. 7.

to their several classes very many other passages which are to be met in the ordinary books of Catholic controversy. We shall commence with those forms of expression which may appear least decisive, and proceed to others conveying the change of substance more clearly and distinctly, till we come to the last degree of evidence which human language could afford.

CLASS I.—As we are addressing ourselves to those who, with Dr. Pusey, maintain the reality of Christ's Presence, it cannot be necessary to give examples of the numberless passages in which (as in our Lord's own words) the eucharistic symbols are said to *be* [*εἶναι*, *esse*] His Body and Blood. The natural inference from this form of expression, of course, is that they *are not* bread or wine any longer. However, we shall not insist upon this deduction, but leave to the antagonists of transubstantiation the benefit of whatever doubt they can discover therein.

CLASS II.—We proceed, therefore, at once to those passages in which the bread and wine are said to *become*, to *be made* [*γενέσθαι*, *ποιεσθαι*, *fieri*] the Body and Blood of Christ. In the natural use of language, one thing cannot be said to *become*, or to *be made*, *another*, without *ceasing to be what it was*. The water of Cana did not become wine, without ceasing to be water; Moses' rod did not become a serpent till it ceased to be a rod; a layman does not become a priest, without ceasing to be a layman. Now we need not tell any one that possesses even a moderate acquaintance with the Greek and Latin fathers, that no language is more familiar with them than this, regarding the blessed Eucharist:—

1. St. Irenæus says, that “when the mingled cup and broken bread perceiveth the word of God, it *becometh* [*γίνεσθαι*] the Eucharist of the body of the Lord.”*

2. St. Ambrose employs the corresponding Latin word. “The consecration is added, and of the bread *is made* [*fit*] the flesh of Christ.”†

3. St. Chrysostom : “It is not man that causeth the oblations to *become* [*γενέσθαι*] the Body and Blood of Christ . . . but it is the grace and power of God which worketh all things.”‡

* *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. v. cap. 2. p. 294. We may add a little fact which Irenæus incidentally mentions, as a curious, but unquestionable evidence of the universal belief of transubstantiation in his time. A religious impostor, named Marcus, among other pretended miracles by which he deluded his followers, caused the wine in the Eucharistic chalice to assume a red and purple colour like blood. [p. 60.] What would have been the object of this trick if the people had not believed transubstantiation just as we believe it?

† *De Sacram.* lib. v. c. 4.

‡ *Homil. de Proditione Judæ*, ii. 394.

4. The familiar prayer of consecration in all the liturgies, as that of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, the Alexandrian, the Ethiopian, &c., is: "*Make* [ποίησον] this bread the venerable Body of thy Christ."*

5. We are tempted to add one other passage, as it is from a source not easily accessible to most readers. It is from a lost homily of St. Athanasius, *To the Baptized*, part of which is preserved in a discourse of St. Sophronius published by Cardinal Mai in his *Vaticana Collectio*. The passages from St. Athanasius are quoted by Sophronius, for the purpose of proving that it is not lawful to adore the mysteries *till after consecration*.

"Thou wilt see the Levites," says Athanasius, "carrying bread and a cup of wine, and preparing the table; and as long as the prayers and supplications are not yet put forth, it is common bread and a common cup. But as soon as the sublime and wonderful prayers are completed, then the bread *becomes* [γίνεται] the Body, and the cup, the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." And again: "Let us come to the celebration of the mysteries. As long as the prayers and supplications have not been made, then they are ordinary bread and wine; but when the sublime prayers and holy supplications are sent up, then the word cometh down upon the bread and wine, and they *become* [γίνεται] His Body."†

CLASS III.—Advancing a step still further, we find an express and distinct recognition of *a change* in the elements. The Fathers constantly declare that the bread and wine are *changed* [μεταβαλλόνται, *mutantur, convertuntur*] into the Body and Blood of Christ.

1. St. Justin Martyr writes in his *Apology*: "For we take them, not as common bread and common drink: but as, by the word of God, our incarnate Saviour, Jesus Christ, took flesh and blood for our salvation, so are we taught that the aliment blessed through the prayer of his word, whereby our flesh and blood are nourished by change [κατὰ μεταβολὴν] is the Flesh and Blood of that Incarnate Jesus."‡

2. St. Cyril of Jerusalem frequently employs this form, and in the following passage it is impossible to mistake its meaning. We use the words of the Oxford translation:—

* See several of these cited in Moehler's *Symbolik*, p. 303, *et seq.* German edition. See also the prayer as given in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, p. 275. Oxford edition.

† *Scriptorum Veterum Vaticana Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 625.

‡ P. 98, Cologne, 1686.

"He once *turned* [μετεβάλε] water into wine in Cana of Gallilee, at his own will; and is it impossible that he should have *turned* [the same word] wine into blood?"*

3. And a few pages afterwards he writes:—"Then having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before him, that he may *make* [see class II] the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched is sanctified and *changed*. [μεταβεβλήται.]"†

4. As a representative of the Latin Church we shall take St. Ambrose. "If the words of Elias could call down fire from heaven," he asks, "shall not Christ's word avail to *change* [mutet] the species of the elements? You have read concerning the creation of the world:—'He spoke, and it was made; He gave command, and it was formed.' Shall not the word of Christ, then, which could draw out of nothing what was not, be able to *change* [mutare] *that which was into what it was not*?"‡ What would be the meaning of this appeal to the creative power, unless to show that the power exercised in the eucharistic consecration was of an analogous character? It will be remembered that these appeals are constantly in the mouth of the Fathers.§

5. The following passage, from Theophylact, is too remarkable to be overlooked:—"Observe," he says, "that the bread eaten by us is not merely a figuring of the flesh of the Lord, but the Lord's flesh itself. For he did not say, 'The bread which I shall give is a figure of flesh;' but 'it is my Flesh.' For this bread is transformed by the hidden words, through the mystic benediction and the coming of the Holy Ghost, into the flesh of the Lord. Nor let it disturb any one that the bread must be believed to be flesh. For even while the Lord walked in the flesh, and received aliment from bread, this bread which he ate *was changed* [μετεβαλλέτο] into his Body, and became like his sacred Flesh, and contributed, after a human manner, to the increase and support thereof. Therefore now also the bread *is changed* [the same word] into the flesh of the Lord. And how is it, you ask, that it is not flesh but bread that appeareth to us? In order that we may not feel an abhorrence to the use thereof."||

* P. 272.

† Ibid. p. 275.

‡ De Mysteriori, c. ix. tom. ii. 338.

§ See the passages quoted in a former page, 84.

|| Com. in Johan. cap. vi. p. 594. Venice, 1754.

CLASS IV. The idea conveyed by the phrases exemplified in the passage just quoted is in the main the same with that frequently found, with a slight variation, in St. Gregory of Nyssa and other fathers; when the bread is said to *pass into*, or to be converted into [μεθιστάσθαι, μετασκευάζεσθαι] the Body of Christ. One or two short examples may suffice.

1. St. Gregory of Nyssa. "But it [the bread eaten by our Lord during his life on earth] was sanctified by the in-dwelling of the Word, who had His tabernacle in the Flesh. As, therefore, the bread being *transmuted* [μεταποιούμενος] in that body, *passed into* [μετέστη] divine power, in like manner, *the same taketh place here also*."*

2. St. Cyril of Alexandria. The following passage is from his commentary on St. Luke, of which Cardinal Mai has published the greater part of the Greek original in the tenth volume of his *Classici Auctores*. The sentiment is precisely that already cited from the more modern Theophylact.

"For that we may not hold back in horror at the sight of flesh and blood lying on the holy tables of our Churches, God, condescending to our weakness, infuses into the oblations the power of life, and *converts them* [μεθιστησθαι] into the energy of his Flesh."†

3. St. Chrysostom: "These are not works of human power. He who did these things in that supper, the same worketh even now. We hold the rank of ministers; but it is He that sanctifies and converts them." [μετασκευάζων.]‡

CLASS V.—There is another expression slightly varying the same idea, of which we may as well add one or two examples. We have never met it except in St. John Chrysostom, nor do we know of its being used by any other Father. It may be expressed by the English word *transformation* [μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι, transfigurari].

1. St. Chrysostom: "It is not man that causeth the oblations to *become* [See Class II] the Body of Christ; but it is the grace and power of God. 'This is my Body,' he saith. This word *transforms* [μεταρρυθμίζει] the oblation."§ He uses the same word, in precisely similar context, in another homily on the same subject.||

2. St. Ambrose: "As often as we receive the sacraments, which, through the mystery of the sacred prayer, are *trans-*

* Catechet. Oratio, ii. 536. † Classici Auctores [Cardinal Mai's], x. 375

‡ Eighty-second (al. 83d.) Hom. on St. Matt. vii. 789.

§ II. De Prodit. Judæ. ii. 394.

|| I. De Prod. Judæ. ii. 384.

formed [transfigurantur] into the Body and Blood of Christ, so often do we announce the memory of his death."^{*}

3. St. Ambrose uses the same word in another passage, to which we shall have occasion to refer again.[†]

CLASS VI.—We feel almost afraid of wearying and perplexing the reader by the copiousness and variety of the language employed by the Fathers to express the sacramental changes. Indeed it is not easy to follow in English the minute shades of varied meaning which the more delicate organization of the Greek language easily distinguishes from one another. Perhaps the phrase we are about to cite is less equivocal than any of those hitherto produced. It is one for which we have no English representative, but it will be equivalently expressed by saying that the sacred symbols are *trans-elemented* [μεταστοιχειῶνται]—that is, *their elements* [στοιχεῖα] are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ.

1. St. Gregory of Nyssa: "And therefore hath the Divine Word commingled Himself with the weak nature of man; in order that, by partaking of the Divinity, our humanity may be deified. For this reason, by the dispensation of his grace, he entereth by his Flesh into the breasts of the faithful, commingled and contempered with their bodies, that, by being united to that which is immortal, man may participate in incorruption. And this he grants by the power of the benediction, *trans-elementing* [μεταστοιχειώσας] the nature [φύσιν] of the visible symbols."[‡]

2. This remarkable word is used by Theophylact in circumstances yet more unequivocal. In reconciling the reality of Christ's presence with the appearances which the symbols present, he proceeds (in a strain very similar to that of which we have already given an example,) to assign our natural loathing of flesh and blood as the reason; tracing it to "the most merciful dispensation of God, whereby he preserves the appearance [εἶδος] of bread, but *trans-elements* it [μεταστοιχειῶν] into the virtue of flesh and blood."[§]

CLASS VII.—There remains yet another phrase, which we have reserved for the last place, to complete the climax of evidence. It is one which well displays the copiousness and strength of the Greek language, and which cannot be rendered faithfully but by the word now consecrated to Catholic use, *transubstantiation*.|| We have already seen that the Fathers

* De Fide. iv. c. 4, tom. ii. 544.

† Tom. ii. p. 709.

‡ Magna Catechet. Oratio. ii. 537.

§ Com. in Marc. cap. xiv. p. 249.

|| See the declarations of the Greek schismatical bishops on the subject of

familiarly speak of the bread and wine *being made* the Body and Blood of Christ. They go still further, and declare that they are *transmuted*, or—to coin a word, for we have none to supply its place—*TRANS-MADE* [μεταποιούνται], or *made into a new substance*, or transubstantiated. Perhaps there is none of the other forms of expression more common than this.

1. St. Gregory of Nyssa: "The Body of Christ, by the indwelling of the word of God, was changed into a divine dignity; and so also I believe that the bread, made holy by God's word, is *transmuted* [μεταποιεῖσθαι] into the Body of Christ."*

2. A few sentences after, he goes on: "For there also the grace of the Word made holy the body which had its substance from bread, and after a certain manner was bread; so here also, this bread, as the Apostle saith, is sanctified by the word of God and prayer; not that it passeth into the body of the Word in the way of eating and drinking, but that it is instantly *transmuted* [μεταποιούμενος] into the body of Christ, according to what he said, 'This is my Body.'"[†]

3. The same word is found in Theodoret, and it is the more remarkable inasmuch he uses it in translating a passage which he quotes from St. Ambrose. "For although thou believest," says he, "that Christ's Body is real, and bringest it to the altar to be *transmuted* [πρὸς μεταποίησιν], but distinguishest not the nature of the body and that of the divinity, we will ask you,"[‡] &c. The word used by St. Ambrose, and which Theodoret considered synonymous with μεταποιεῖσθαι, was *transfigurari*. We have already referred to the passage.

4. St. John Damascene: "Thus, the bread of the oblation and the wine and water, through the invocation and the coming of the Holy Ghost, are *supernaturally transmuted* [ὑπερφύως μεταποιούνται] into the Body and Blood of Christ."[§]

With this remarkable class we close our case. It would be very easy to have multiplied the examples both in this and in other classes, but we shall not proceed further, because we think it impossible for any one who really respects the fathers, to resist the evidence in favour of transubstantiation already produced; and still more, for any student of antiquity, whether he respect them or not, to entertain a doubt as to what were their true sentiments upon this mysterious topic.

transubstantiation, appended to the "Perpétuité de la Foi," vol. i. p. 1199, and fol. Paris, 1841.

* Tom. ii. 536.

† Ibid.

‡ Tom. iv. p. 147. Halle, 1772.

§ De Fide Orthodoxa, lib. iv. p. 317.

It is silly to say, while we have such a blaze of evidence before us, that they contented themselves with believing that Christ *was* really present, and abstracted from *the mode in which* he was present in the blessed Eucharist. We defy any man who calmly considers their language, to doubt that they not only defined that Christ was present after a certain mode (and not merely in the abstract), but that the mode so defined by them is not, and cannot be, any other than transubstantiation; that is, that the elements of bread and wine cease to exist after consecration, and that, under the appearances thereof which remain, his body and blood, together with his soul and divinity, truly, really, and substantially, exist and are received by the communicant. It is hardly possible to devise, even in the rich and copious vocabulary of Greece, a variety of phrase which they have not employed to convey this meaning. To recapitulate the singularly varied and expressive forms of language which they use, they declare, not only that the sacramental symbols *are* (class I.) the body and blood of Christ, and that what *was* bread *has been made* (class II.) his body; but they further define the mode in which this has taken place, insisting (against all the apparent evidence of sense, on which, be it remembered, they never fail to dwell) and proving by illustrations and examples which have no meaning except in the hypothesis of transubstantiation, that the symbols *are changed and converted* (classes III.-IV.) into the body and blood; that by this change they are not only *transformed* (class V.) or transfigured, but that their *elements* or *constituent parts* are (class VI.) *changed*; and, finally, to remove all possibility of doubt, that they are as it were (class VII.) *TRANSMADE, MADE INTO A NEW THING, or, in the apt language of the Catholic dogma, TRANSUBSTANTIATED.*

Clear and conclusive as this evidence must be to every inquirer, we feel that to those who, like Dr. Pusey and his friends, admit that the Real Presence was the faith of the Church in the times when the fathers wrote and preached, it should be absolutely irresistible. Let it be remembered that in those times the questions regarding the mode of the presence had never been heard of; that the language therefore which the fathers employ is to be taken in the sense in which a simple hearer, unacquainted with metaphysical abstractions, would understand it; that, if we suppose them to have disbelieved, or even to have abstracted from the actual transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine, all their arguments and all their illustrations lose their force, and are utterly inappli-

cable; and that (as the remarkable omissions in Dr. Pusey's sermons, already noticed, sufficiently evince) it is only a believer of the actual transubstantiation of the symbols, who at the present day can use their language—their familiar every-day language—fearlessly and in its complete integrity.

We have dwelt so long on these important points that we must abruptly break off our comments on the "Sermon for the fifth of November." Indeed, as it proceeds on the principle *calumniare audacter, aliquid adhærebit*, and runs through the entire circle of Catholic doctrine, it would be necessary (in the proportion on which we have hitherto gone) to devote an entire volume to an adequate reply. Having, however, said so much upon the two topics which stand first in order, we believe the rest may be safely left to produce its effect upon those who, after this *exposé*, will take its statements without examination.

ART. IV.—1. *Symbolism: or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced by their Symbolical Writings.* By John Adam Moehler, D.D. Dean of Würzburg and late Professor of Theology at the University of Munich: translated from the German, with a Memoir of the Author, preceded by an Historical Sketch of the State of Protestantism and Catholicism in Germany for the last Hundred Years. By James Burton Robertson, Esq., Translator of Schlegel's Philosophy of History. 2 vols. London: 1843.

2. *Dr. J. A. Möhler's, ernannten Domdecans zu Würzburg, und Ritters des Königlichen bayerischen St. Michael-Ordens, ehemals ord. Professors der Theologie zu München, gesammelte Schriften und Aufsätze*; herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Jos. Ign. Döllinger. 2 vols. 8vo. Regensburg: 1839-40.

THERE is a strong popular prejudice in these countries against every thing in the shape of German theology. And, undoubtedly, there is but too much before the world under that name, to confirm the prejudice in its fullest extent. There is a host of German writers, calling themselves theologians, who have discarded the first principles, not alone of revealed, but even of natural religion; and it is hard not to suspect the theology of a land, where open and undisguised Pantheism is no obstacle to the *licentia docendi*; where mem-

bers of a theological faculty (as at Berlin, Breslau, Griefswalde, and Königsberg), regard, as not incompatible with the "essence of Christianity," a system which not only rejects the authenticity and credibility of the Gospel history, but denies the personal existence of God and the immortality of the human soul;* and where infidelity, however daring, if driven from one seat of learning, is sure of a ready and honourable welcome in another.†

Nor has the so called Catholic school of Germany escaped its share of this odium. The decrees of the Convention of Ems have never been forgotten. The anti-celibate party of Baden and Wurtemberg retain and keep alive the same spirit; and the Hermesian school has practically revived, if not outstepped, the very worst principles of Febronianism in its bearing towards the Holy See.

However, it is not of this extreme class we wish to be understood, when we speak of the prejudice against German theologians. It extends even to the sounder and more estimable among them; nor, indeed, is it difficult to understand how it has gained strength and currency. There is something about even the very best German authors, which, to a foreigner, must always appear strange and almost unnatural. The very structure of the sentences in the German language (the only language we know, whose prose is more difficult than its poetry), with their inversions, and parentheses, and modifications, and incidental propositions, is in itself repulsive to a foreign reader. The constitution of the German mind, too, is entirely peculiar; the national habit of thinking is peculiar; the topics of argument which they select,* the principles of argumentation by which they are swayed, are entirely different from those to which we are accustomed. Habituated to generalization of facts and abstraction of ideas, they are never so completely at home as in those dim and shadowy heights,

Where Entity and Quiddity,
The ghosts of defunct bodies, fly.

They will build up a theory before one of us could have

* See the decisions of the Prussian Universities in the case of Dr. Bruno Bauer, delivered in 1842. A summary of these is given in Mr. Robertson's *Introductory Memoir*, p. lvi.

† As in the case of the notorious Strauss; who, deprived of a tutorship in Tübingen, was invited to occupy a chair of divinity in Zurich, though the appointment was afterwards successfully resisted.

selected the ground for its foundation. They will see strength and solidity, where we can discover but futility and flimsiness. What is light to them, will frequently be, in our eyes, little better than smoke or moonshine. There is among them all, besides, a passion for novelty which, in a positive science like divinity, can never be indulged without danger, not to say actual injury, to truth. The strongest views, if they happen to be old, are too frequently abandoned for some unsubstantial novelty, with nothing but its fancied originality to recommend it, and owing all its weight to the over partial imagination of the inventor. It is beyond our present scope to offer examples of this propensity; but it is a blemish which every German student is capable of understanding, and which, unhappily, has left its traces in the so-called German school in France (represented by Gerbet, Ozanam, and their friends), otherwise so estimable and so highly gifted.

But, although there is much that is bad, much, too, that is indifferent, in the theology of Germany, it would be the extreme of prejudice to deny that there is, also, a great deal that is excellent, a great deal for which it would be difficult to find a substitute in the literature of any other country: and we have little doubt that our readers, though they may find in it occasional traces of the very mannerisms to which we have been referring, will, nevertheless, forget most of their prejudices, in the perusal of the admirable book which stands at the head of this article. We do not say that it is a perfect work. On the contrary, it is not without some inaccuracies, and there are a few of its opinions to which we are far from subscribing; but it abounds throughout with solid and profound views: it unites the strong and sterling stuff of the olden divines, with the more subtle mysticism now popular in Germany, and, in a subject so vast and varied, exhibits a power of methodizing and condensing, which has scarcely ever been equalled,—hardly even by the illustrious author of the *Variations of the Protestant Churches* himself.

The "*Symbolism*" has now been above ten years before the world, and it is time that we should hear something of it in these countries. The well-known Protestant divine, Schleiermacher, declared it to be the greatest blow ever given to Protestantism; and another very distinguished professor of Bonn confesses, that none of the replies which it called out, at all approached it in force of reasoning.* In six years it

* Memoir, p. ciii.

passed through five editions (each of three or four thousand copies), which obtained as great circulation in Protestant as in Catholic Germany. It was translated into French soon after its first appearance. The papal nuncio in Switzerland has since translated it both into Latin and Italian. All three translations have had almost unparalleled success, and the work has been adopted as a text-book in several of the continental universities.

It is with very great satisfaction, therefore, that we welcome the long-promised English translation, from the pen of Mr. Robertson, already so favourably known by his translation of Frederick Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*. The *Symbolism* is executed in a manner at once worthy of the subject, and in keeping with the high character of the former translation. The style is clear, simple, and well-sustained; and, in a work so singularly technical in its structure and phraseology, the general accuracy of the translation displays an acquaintance with the principles of divinity, rarely to be found in an unprofessional writer. Mr. Robertson has added much to the interest and utility of his book, by a lengthened introduction, containing a condensed view of the religious history of Germany, Catholic and Protestant, during the last century, and a very full, though concise, memoir of the author of the *Symbolism*. As the historical sketch of Germany is already so condensed as hardly to admit further compression, we must content ourselves with recommending it to the reader, as very interesting; and, though it be not very profound, yet full of accurate information, which it would be extremely difficult to collect elsewhere. We shall endeavour to compress the leading facts contained in the memoir of the lamented author.

John Adam Moehler was born at Igersheim, a town on the confines of Franconia and Swabia, on the 8th of May 1796. His mother died while he was still young, but his father, though otherwise a severe parent, appears to have faithfully supplied her place, devoting to the religious education of his son, all the care which it more commonly falls to the mother to bestow. In his twelfth year, he was sent to the chief school of Mergentheim, a town two miles distant from Igersheim, whence—so anxiously did his father watch over his morals—he was obliged to return home every evening. Of his school history but little is recorded, and that little gave but slender promise of his after eminence. He had many superiors in almost all his classes; and, were it not that he

displayed, from his earliest years, an uncommon fondness for the study of history, which absorbed all his attention, he would have left school with the character of a very ordinary school-boy.

In his eighteenth year he was sent to the Lyceum of Ellwangen to commence the study of theology. For a time he appears to have been undecided as to the choice of a profession; but in the following year, 1815, he finally resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and repaired to Tübingen, where, after four years spent in the seminary, and in attendance on the theological lectures of the university, he was ordained priest in 1819.

Immediately after his ordination he was sent as curate to Walderstadt, whence he was soon transferred to Reidlingen. During the year which he spent in these missions, his conduct was beyond all praise, and the highest testimony is borne to his mild and amiable disposition, his ardent, though gentle zeal, and his unremitting assiduity in the discharge of all his duties. But it is worthy of remark, as an illustration of the then state of theological education in Germany, that, at this period, some of his warmest friends were not without apprehensions for the soundness and orthodoxy of his views. The Faculty of Tübingen, from which his notions of theology were drawn, was at that period far from immaculate; nor was it till after long years of private study that he succeeded in disabusing his mind of the prejudices it had imbibed at this tainted source.

Even during this year of missionary labour, however, all his tastes and feelings were turned towards a retired and literary life, and in 1821 he gladly embraced the offer of a tutorship in the seminary of Tübingen. For two years he devoted himself to classical and philosophical studies with all the zeal which was afterwards turned into another channel. With such ardour did he enter into these pursuits, that, to use his own expressive phrase, he actually "lived in heathenism;" and so thoroughly had he imbibed the taste for ancient literature, that in 1822 he had drawn up a memorial to the government, soliciting a permanent appointment to a place in the philological faculty which had just become vacant. Had his petition been successful, it is more than probable that the genius which has since so much enriched the science of theology in Germany, would have been transferred, in all its ardour, to the comparatively unprofitable pursuits of philology. But it was otherwise arranged. When he was on the point

of forwarding the petition, he was named to a theological tutorship, which he at once accepted, and abandoned philology (except as a lighter study), for ever.

His appointment was confirmed by the government, who, with a liberality well deserving of imitation, supplied him with the means of visiting the most distinguished universities of Germany before he should enter upon his office. Moehler gladly availed himself of the advantage thus afforded, and visited in succession Jena, Leipsig, Halle, Berlin, Göttingen, Prague, Vienna, and Landshut. It is not a little singular, that it was in the course of this literary tour, in a Protestant university, and from a Protestant professor, he first learned to distrust and dislike the principles of his early theological education. In his intercourse with the celebrated Plank, Professor of Theology at Göttingen—a tractarian by anticipation, and profoundly versed in the literature of the early ages—his attention was first called to the importance of the study of the Fathers, which the new Catholic school of Tübingen had entirely discarded. With what fruit he cultivated the taste for these invaluable studies, inspired by his conversation with this enlightened friend, (who, indeed, was half Catholic in many of his views), may be estimated from his immense, though unfinished work—extending to above a thousand 8vo. pages—on Patrology, the MS. of which has been published since his death, by his friend Dr. Reithmayer, of Munich.

His career as professor commenced in 1823, with a course of lectures on Ecclesiastical History, and another on the Canon Law. Two years later (1825) he published his first, and in every way least estimable work, on the *Unity of the Church*. We have never seen this publication, which is now so rare, that Mr. Robertson, though upon the spot, has not been able to find a copy; but it is represented as having been afterwards a subject of bitter regret to the author, on account of some opinions hastily expressed, which his maturer judgment retracted and would gladly have expunged. As a literary composition, however, it contained many evidences of a profound and cultivated mind, and displayed so much various and extensive erudition, that in the following year he was invited to the chair of theology at Freiburg, in Breisgau; an offer, however, which he could not be induced to accept.

Meanwhile his studies were turning in a more healthy direction. For a time he gave himself up almost entirely to the study of the fathers; and the first fruit of his labours was

his *Athanasius*,—a historical and biographical sketch of this illustrious saint, and of the religious controversies which agitated the Church during his times. This learned work, though professedly historical, was intended to serve a controversial purpose also; and, like the Oxford translation of Fleury's history of the five first ages, was directed chiefly against the dominant rationalistic school of Church history, which prevailed and still prevails in Germany. We are induced to transcribe Mr. Robertson's account of this interesting work, which we trust he may hereafter be induced to translate. With a few slight modifications it would be admirably adapted to the tastes of English readers, and we want in the English language some antidote to that false and insidious picture of this holy man, which the "infidel historian" regarded as his masterpiece.

"All the personages who took part in this mighty conflict are pourtrayed with much truth, life, and interest. In the hostile camp we find the false-hearted, double-tongued Arius; the crafty Eusebius of Nicomedia; the hypocritical Valens and Ursacius; the audacious Aëtius; the weak and tyrannical emperor Constantius; and, lastly, the pagan enthusiast, Julian, who hangs over the Church like a dark, boding, but, happily, passing, thunder-cloud. On the side of the combatants for truth, the firmness of Pope Julius; the noble-minded character of his successor, Liberius; the intrepid fortitude of the venerable Osius; the burning zeal of Marcellus of Ancyra; the high courage, but harsh and intemperate zeal of Lucifer of Cagliari; the genius, the eloquence, the mild virtues, and unshaken constancy of Hilary of Poitiers; and, lastly, the lofty genius and majestic character of the great Athanasius, alternately challenge our admiration and enlist our sympathy.

"Much as all Catholics are taught, from childhood, to revere the character of this great confessor, yet none can rise from the perusal of Moehler's work without feeling increased admiration for his genius, and increased love and veneration for his virtues. In the writings of Athanasius, what marvellous acuteness of dialectic, what prodigious depth of observation, do we discover! what intuitive insight into the mind of Scripture! what dexterity in the application of its texts! what knowledge in the tradition of the fathers, and what instinctive adherence to the spirit of the Church! In his life, what magnanimous intrepidity in the defence of truth! what unwearied perseverance in the path of duty! what unbroken constancy under persecution! what presence of mind in the face of danger! what sagacious insight into the wiles and machinations of heretics! what generosity towards his enemies! How temperate, too, is his zeal, and what a spirit of conciliation, where compromise is possible and where concession is safe! What activity and what

wisdom in the government of his vast patriarchate! Watch him through all the phases of his various destinies! See him now surrounded by the love and sympathy of his Alexandrians; now confronting hostile synods; now undertaking long and perilous journeys to defend his character from calumny, and to unmask before the head of the Church the arts of heresy; now fearlessly proclaiming the truth at the court of the tyrannical Constantius; and now banished, time after time, from his diocese, his country, his friends; encompassed by perils from false brethren, perils from the sea, perils from the wilderness; and, while surrounded by the lions of the Lybian desert, writing those immortal letters and treatises, where he consoles the persecuted sons of the Church, confirms her wavering members, and refutes the elated heretics;—productions that to the end of time will be the solace and the glory of the Church!

“Behold him now, at the close of his glorious career, after forty years’ incessant toil, hardship, and suffering; with a frame unbent, and a mind unsubdued by age, still ready to fight new battles for the Lord: spared by Heaven to see the great adversary he had so long combated—the adversary of Christ—the monster Arianism, gasping and bleeding from his death-wound. Behold the veteran warrior now honoured by that degenerate court which had so long persecuted him; consoled by the respect and sympathy of the Christian world; consulted on all important affairs by the dignitaries of the Church, near or remote; and nerving the courage and directing the counsels of that young, hopeful band of Christ’s soldiers—the Basils, the Nazianzens, and the Nyssas, who were destined to follow up the victory he had achieved, and annihilate the great antagonist of the Church.

“But Athanasius attained to this great authority in the Church, only because he had been most obedient and most faithful to the authority of the Church. It was not by his personal genius, learning, and sanctity alone, that he obtained such a prodigious ascendancy over the minds of his contemporaries, but also by the weight he derived from the sanction of the Church and its visible head.

“What a glorious part doth not the holy Roman See act in this Arian contest! While orthodox prelates are driven from their sees; while some quail before triumphant heresy, and others are incautiously entrapped into the acceptance of ambiguous formulas; while the faithful are distracted by the conflicting decisions of hostile synods, and doctrine is undermined, and discipline subverted, by intruded heretical bishops, the Roman pontiffs ever uphold the authority of the Nicene Council, quash the decrees of heretical provincial synods, restore to their churches the banished prelates, condemn their adversaries, everywhere enforce canonical discipline, and sometimes overawe the hostile potentates of the earth.”—vol. i. pp. xcvii.-c.

While employed in these weightier studies, Moehler also contributed largely to the Catholic periodical literature of Germany, especially to the Tübingen *Quarterly Theological Review*, which from the commencement of his connection with it, breathes entirely a new spirit. One of his most successful essays, *On Clerical Celibacy*, appeared about the same time with the *Athanasius*. In the year 1828, he began the series of lectures which he afterwards published under the title of *Symbolism*. The reputation which they at once procured for him drew upon him the eyes of the Prussian government, who offered him a chair of theology at Breslau, in Silesia; but, though still only a tutor in Tübingen, he declined this, as he had done the previous proposal; and soon after obtained the professorship-in-ordinary of theology in his own university. It was not till 1832 that he published his course of lectures on the Symbols. Its appearance had long been eagerly watched for; and it immediately drew out a host of replies, the most respectable of which were those of Nitsch, Marheineke, and Baur. That of Baur, who was Professor of the rival (Protestant) Faculty of Theology at Tübingen, is by far the most learned and elaborate. But it is admitted by Moehler's antagonists to have been a complete failure;* and in a short time Moehler replied triumphantly, in a volume entitled, *New Investigation into the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants*.† The greater part of this volume (divested, of course, of its character of a reply), has been incorporated with the edition (the fifth) from which Mr. Robertson's translation is made.

Moehler was now confessedly at the head of Catholic literature in Germany. The Prussian government, notwithstanding the failure of its former plan of fixing him at Breslau, made him a new offer of the theological chair at Bonn. It is not improbable that he would have gladly accepted this appointment, which would have placed him in communication, and enabled him to act in concert, with his friend Professor Klee, the unwearied champion of the faith in that stronghold of Hermesianism. But the measure was frustrated by the intrigues of this powerful party, who, already sufficiently embarrassed by the learning and activity of Klee, dreaded the accession to the adverse ranks of so popular a professor and so powerful a writer. Nor did their factious hostility end here. Representing him to the government as

* Conversations Lexicon. Leipsig, 1840. p. 699.

† Maintz, 1834.

a disturber of the religious peace of the university, they excited a strong prejudice even against his most unexceptionable writings; though in truth, if there be any defect in this particular in Moehler's tone, it is rather a tendency to stretch than to narrow the principles of conciliation. The system of petty annoyance perseveringly employed against him, the consciousness of his being an object of groundless suspicion to the authorities, and the personal acrimony which Baur and his friends mixed up with the controversy in which they had been engaged with him from the appearance of the *Symbolik*, combined to render his further residence at Tübingen anything but a happy one; and when, in the beginning of 1835, he was invited by King Lewis, of Bavaria, to accept the chair of theology in his new university at Munich, he gladly embraced the offer, and having resigned his appointment at Tübingen, which he had held for ten years, arrived at Munich early in the spring of the same year.

Ungrateful as was the close of his connection with Tübingen, his residence there had been a source of incalculable advantage to the Catholic interests, not only of that University, but of the entire German Church. He commenced his career under singularly unfavourable circumstances. A wild and irregular body of students, a temporising and but half-sound Catholic faculty,—timid in defending the truth, perhaps daring in propounding heterodox or at least dangerous opinions—and a lax and ill-instructed clergy, were, at the best, unpromising materials wherewith to labour for the reformation of the Church. And yet, before he was called to the more genial sphere of the Bavarian University, he had almost renewed the face of things in Wirtemberg. His mild and engaging manners won the affections of the students, while his surpassing genius commanded their respect. Into the Catholic faculty of the University he breathed a new life,—emboldening the timid, correcting the unsound, infusing into all the spirit of their common cause; and even since his death, the principles which he imparted to the young men who had the happiness of attending his lectures, silently disseminated by them in their respective localities, have produced a marked effect on the entire body of the Wirtemberg clergy.

His first course of lectures at Munich was on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and was followed up by a series on the other epistles of the apostle. But by far the most interesting course which he delivered while he held the theo-

logical chair of this University, was that on Patrology,—a series of biographical, critical, and doctrinal dissertations on the fathers, and other ecclesiastical writers, from St. Clement of Rome down to Lactantius. The notes from which these lectures were delivered have been arranged and published, since his death, by his friend Dr. Reithmayer, who now occupies the chair then held by Moehler.

For a time his residence in the Bavarian capital was extremely happy. But during the visitation of cholera which befel the city in 1836, his health sustained a severe shock; and a protracted attack of influenza in the following spring completely undermined his constitution, already impaired by too assiduous study, and left behind it traces of delicacy from which he never fully recovered. At the instance of his physicians, however, he spent the summer of 1837 in the southern Tyrol; whence he returned in autumn, apparently so far reestablished that he hoped to be able to resume his ordinary duties. But in November, as he was on the point of reopening his lectures, a new attack undid all the benefit which he had derived from his summer tour; and, though he seemed to rally a little, and actually resumed his course for a few weeks, the result of his imprudence was a severe attack of the chest, which eventuated in inflammation of the lungs. It now became apparent that any attempt to continue his professional duties would necessarily prove fatal. He declined a third offer made him by the Prussian government, of a chair at Bonn, with a canonry in the cathedral of Cologne, and the king, with the kind and considerate forethought for which he is so distinguished, appointed him dean of Würzburg and knight of the order of St. Michael. But this gleam of royal favour served only to brighten the last hours of his life. Fever soon followed in the train of inflammation. During the month of March he enjoyed occasional relief; but, in the end of Lent, his strength gradually declined. On the Tuesday of Holy Week, he received the last sacraments with the most edifying piety and resignation; and on Holy Thursday (April 12th 1838), he died at the early age of forty-three, universally deplored by his Catholic fellow-countrymen, and respected and admired even by those from whom he differed in religion, and had long been engaged in religious discussion. His loss was an almost irreparable blow to the Catholic literature of Germany, which he had done so much to elevate and purify; and it has been felt with double bitterness since the equally

premature death of his amiable and gifted successor, Heinrich Klee, which occurred little more than a year afterwards.

To the friends of the liberties of the Church it will be interesting to know that Moehler's last literary effort was a powerful and indignant appeal against the imprisonment of the venerable archbishop of Cologne, which appeared in the *Algemeine Zeitung*, during the February of 1838. In addition to the works already named, the collection published by Dr. Döllinger contains several shorter dissertations, one of which, a sketch of the life of St. Anselm, was translated into English some years since; they were chiefly contributions to the *Tubingen Review*. They are almost all occasional pieces,—some of them are incomplete and hastily written; but all bear evident marks of the same powerful and cultivated mind.

It remains for us to offer a brief account of what must always be considered his greatest work, the *Symbolism*. The full and comprehensive title of the book relieves us from the necessity of explaining its general plan. But it may be necessary to guard the reader against an expectation which we have known to be pretty generally entertained, viz., that it enters into all the shades and varieties of religious opinion which prevail in Protestant Germany at the present day. Such a book, from a Catholic pen, is undoubtedly a great desideratum in our literature; and in Mr. Robertson's Introductory Memoir many valuable materials for such a work will be found. But the *Symbolism* does not profess this object. The principles of the modern Rationalists have never been embodied in any authorized formulary of faith; their opinions could only be gathered from the writings of private individuals, without any authority beyond what the name of the writer might carry with it, and Moehler has confined himself to the older forms of Protestantism, and to the sects which sprung from it at or soon after its first origin,—to those, and those only, which possess either authorized formularies, or at least writings of a semi-authoritative character. It is much to be regretted that, having completed this portion of the subject, he did not further address himself to the more modern phases of Protestantism. But the reason is satisfactorily explained by Mr. Robertson:—

“It may, at first sight, appear singular, that a work which has excited so prodigious a sensation throughout Germany, which has been read by Protestants as well as Catholics, with an avidity that proves it responded to a want generally felt, should have left untouched the existing forms of Protestantism, and been exclusively

engaged with the refutation of those antiquated doctrines that, though in certain Protestant countries they may still retain some influence and authority, can count in Protestant Germany but a small number of adherents. How is this fact to be accounted for? I must observe that, although the *Symbolism* abstains from investigating the modern systems of Protestantism, yet it presupposes throughout their existence; and the work itself could never have appeared, if Protestantism had not attained its ultimate term of development. The present forms of Protestantism, moreover, being only a necessary development of its earlier errors, a solid and vigorous refutation of the latter must needs overthrow the former. But there is yet another and more special reason, which, in despite of first appearances, rendered this work eminently opportune. A portion of the German Protestants, as we have seen, recoiling from the abyss, to which Rationalism was fast conducting them, sought a refuge in falling back on the old symbolical books of Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, whose authority for upwards of sixty years had been totally disregarded. This movement of minds was seconded by some Protestant princes, particularly by the late King of Prussia, who had learned, from bitter experience, the disastrous political consequences which the doctrines of Rationalism are calculated to produce. This sovereign, who was as skilful an ecclesiastical, as he was a military, tactician, in order to escape from the two enemies, Catholicism and Rationalism, who were galling his flanks, sounded the trumpet for retreat, and, assisted by an able staff of theologians, was making a rapid retrograde march on the old formularies—the bulwarks of Protestant orthodoxy, which, for more than half a century neglected and dilapidated, had remained utterly untenanted. Moehler watched his moment—fell with terrific onslaught on the retreating forces—blew up the old Protestant strongholds—compelled the enemy to retrace his steps, and brought him at last into such straits, that he must now either make an unconditional surrender to the Church, or be swept down the abyss of Pantheism. This is the origin and the meaning of the present book—this is in part the cause of its prodigious success. Thus, it not only presupposes the extinction of the elder, more orthodox Protestantism, but, in so far as any human production can accomplish such a thing, it effectually will prevent its revival.”—vol. i. p. cviii.

In a short preliminary chapter he specifies the authorized symbols, or other doctrinal formularies, from which the opinions of the several communions are derived. On the Catholic side (as the work regards only those questions which are disputed between us and the modern Reformers) he may be said to confine himself to the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, for he considers the Catechism as only explanatory, and not

possessing the authority of a formulary of faith. With regard to the more recent doctrinal declarations,—as those contained in the bulls of Innocent X and Clement XI, and also (though he does not allude to it) the *Auctorem Fidei* of Pius VI against the synod of Pistoja,—though he uses their decisions as authoritative declarations, yet he does not rank them under the class of symbols of faith. We remember when, several years since, we first read the *Symbolik*, being extremely surprised, or rather startled, by the reason assigned for this in the earlier German editions of the work: "Because the collective Church had never formally attributed a symbolical character to them."* We have not within our reach the edition (the fifth) from which Mr. Robertson's translation is made, nor does he make any observation on the subject; but we are glad to see this passage withdrawn in the present translation, which alleges the *negative* character of these condemnatory bulls as the sole reason for not considering them symbolical, inasmuch as they only "decide the questions in a negative way," by "noting certain propositions as erroneous, and do not set forth the doctrine opposed to the error, but suppose it to be already known, whereas a formulary of faith must not only reject error, it must state doctrine."†

To some the enumeration may appear tedious; but, as we do not know anywhere a more complete catalogue of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Zuinglian formularies, it will be useful to give a compendious list, comprising at least the name and date of each formulary, under their respective heads.

The Lutheran formularies are five in number: 1. The *Augsburg Confession*, drawn up by Melancthon, and presented to the diet of 1530. 2. The *Defensio Fidei Augustanæ*, written by him soon after, and approved by the Lutheran body. 3. The *Articles of Smalcald*, drawn up in 1537, and sanctioned by the deputies appointed to confer with the legates of the Pope and the Emperor, Held and Vorst. 4. The *Formula Concordiæ*, sometimes called the *Book of Bergen*, composed, in 1577, by Chemnitz, Andrew, chancellor of Tübingen, and Sellnecker. It consists of two parts—the Epitome, which is a bare profession of faith, and the Exposition thereof, commonly cited as the *Solida Declaratio*. 5. Luther's greater and smaller Catechisms, which, in the

* See the edition of Maintz, 1835, p. 18.

+ P. 20.

last named formulary, are styled the "Bible of the laity," and are regarded by all orthodox Lutherans as possessing the very highest authority.

The Reformed symbols are more numerous: 1. The *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, so called from the four cities, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, in whose name it was submitted to the diet of Augsburg in 1530, though rejected by that body on account of its Zwinglian exposition of the Lord's Supper. 2. The *Helvetic Confessions*, which are three in number; viz. the *Confession of Muhlhausen*, composed in 1532; another prepared in 1536, by Bullinger, Leo Judas, Myconius, and Grynæus, and a revision of this confession in the year 1566. 3. The *Church of England Articles*; viz. the forty-two articles of Edward VI., in 1553; and the thirty-nine of Elizabeth, in 1562. 4. The *Confessio Gallicana*, agreed on in a synod at Paris, convoked by Antoine de Chantieu. 5. The *Confessio Belgica*, drawn up by Guy de Bres and Saravia, in 1562. 6. The acts of the Synod of Dort, held in 1618 and 1619. 7. The *Heidelberg Catechism*, prepared in 1562, by Frederick III, Count Palatine. 8. A similar work, composed by order of John George of Anhalt-Dessau, in 1597. 9. The *Confession of the Marches*, so called from its author, John Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg.

All these motley confessions of faith, as possessing, or having once possessed, authority in the communities whose principles they represent, are freely used by Moehler in discussing the several points disputed between the churches. The *Symbolism* is divided into two books. The first regards the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Zwinglian churches; the second, the minor Protestant communities, as the Anabaptists, Quakers, Herrnhutters, Pietists, Methodists, Swedenborgians, Socinians, and Arminians. The first book is divided into six chapters, in which are examined in succession, the doctrinal differences of the churches, on the primitive state of man and the origin of evil; original sin and its consequences; free-will and grace; justification, (comprising its nature and its cause, with all the questions regarding faith, works, merit, election, and reprobation); the sacraments, especially baptism, penance, and the eucharist; the church militant, with the rule of faith, tradition, and the hierarchy, and the Church triumphant and its connection with the Church on earth; under which head the invocation of saints and prayers for the dead are fully discussed. We could not hope to give a detailed account of this portion of

the work, although it is both the most elaborate and the most successful. The four first chapters, to be fully appreciated, must be considered as a whole. The great merit of the Symbolism is the skill with which it analyzes the whole system of the Lutheran and Calvinistic creeds; on the one hand tracing the link of connection by which the several doctrines are deduced from one another, and on the other mercilessly exposing the inconsistencies and absurdities resulting from this apparently natural, but yet incongruous, association of doctrines, which, whatever their merits considered in themselves, are yet utterly irreconcilable as parts of the same system of belief. We never remember to have read any thing more complete than the exposure of the incongruity of the Lutheran theory of original sin, with the principles which they hold concerning the will of Adam. We feel, however, that any isolated extracts would give but a faint and imperfect idea of this portion of the work; while an attempt at condensation or analysis of its contents would be an injustice to the author.

It will be easier to form a judgment of the writer's manner, though perhaps not of the strength and originality of his views, from a few extracts selected from the chapters upon the Church; and we shall thus have the additional advantage of falling in more with the popular controversies of the day. We shall offer no apology for the length of the extracts.

"As the impossibility was now manifest of convincing the Gnostics of the truth out of Holy Writ, must the Catholic Church declare, that the questions whether God created the world, whether Christ were a true man, should remain in abeyance, till these doctrines were made evident to them by the testimony of Scripture? By no means. They were directed to tradition—to the living word; they were told that, if even a doubt could arise as to the doctrine of Scripture, the announcement of the word perpetuated in the Church since her first establishment, and the common faith of believers, decided the question clearly enough; and that to this decision, all who wish to attach themselves to Christ, and choose him for the shepherd of their souls, ought not to refuse obedience.

"The teachers of the Church, indeed, by no means omitted to employ Scripture for the refutation of the Gnostics, and to appeal to its testimony in detailed expositions. But herein, one learned investigation was but opposed to another: man stood against man, and the Bible on both sides. By adherence to Scripture, the individual Christian could undoubtedly convince himself that the Gnostics were involved in grievous errors. Of this he was sub-

jectively certain ; but as the adversary had the like subjective conviction, that the true Christian view of the world was to be found on his side, the objectivity of Christianity would have necessarily disappeared, if, besides the Bible, there had not been a rule of faith, to wit, universal Tradition. Without this rule, it would ever be impossible to determine with positiveness, safety, and general obligation, the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. The individual, at best, could only hazard the assertion, this is *my* view, *my* interpretation of Scripture ; or, in other words, without tradition there would be *no doctrine of the Church, and no Church*, but individual Christians only ; no certainty and security, but only doubt and probability.

"Scarcely had the struggle of the Catholic Church with Gnosticism reached its highest point, when, in the most decided contrast with the latter, the one class of Unitarians arose ; for these, and not, as Neander thinks, the Montanists, form the contrary extreme to the Gnostics. If the Gnostics saw in Christianity *nothing but* what was divine, and in Christ recognized *merely* the divine reason, so that they attributed to the Redeemer only an apparent body, represented him as merely putting on an illusive form of man, but not taking the real nature of man, and regarded, moreover, the visible world as thoroughly evil ; these Unitarians, on the other hand, discovered in the Saviour a mere man, enlightened by Heaven ; and, consistently with this doctrine, denied the descent of the Divine Spirit upon the Apostles and the Church, and the high supernatural aids of grace ; which they the less needed, as they acknowledged the existence of no deeply implanted corruption in human nature. Did the former look upon the Gospel as a plastic impulse, a divine germ of life, a celestial energy ; so the latter regarded it as a law of formation, a dead rule, an abstract notion, a pure ethical system, by application whereof the defects to be found in our otherwise excellent moral nature, may be totally eradicated. The Unitarians of this class (after falsifying Holy Writ), appealed to the same, and by the rejection of tradition, relied exclusively on its authority. What course, under these circumstances, was the Church to be advised ? Was she to declare that every one was provisionally to follow his own views, until results, satisfactory to each individual, could be more surely obtained from the study of Holy Writ ? Most undoubtedly, if the Church had been a mere historico-antiquarian association ; if she had had no conception of herself, of her foundation, of her essence, and of her task, and no sense of the power of faith. But, as she enjoyed the possession of these, she acted otherwise, and from her conduct clearly resound the words : 'eternally certain is the doctrine of the Redeemer to his disciples—the written word is one with the living—that which is inscribed on paper and parchment, with that which is engraven on hearts by the power of the Holy Spirit ; and the doubts, which may

arise out of the former, are dispelled by the latter.' The faith existing in the Church, from the beginning throughout all ages, is the infallible standard to determine the true sense of Scripture; and accordingly it is certain, beyond the shadow of doubt, that the Redeemer is God, and hath filled us even with divine power. In fact, he who grounds his faith on Scripture only, that is, on the result of his exegetical studies, has no faith, can have none, and understands not its very nature. Must he not be always ready to receive better information; must he not admit the possibility, that by mature study of Scripture another result may be obtained than that which has already been arrived at? The thought of this very possibility precludes the establishment of any decided, perfectly undoubting, and unshaken faith, which, after all, is alone deserving of the name. He who says, 'this is my faith,' hath no faith. Faith, unity of faith, universality of faith, are one and the same; they are but different expressions of the same notion. He who, if even he should not believe the truth, yet believes truly, believes at the same time that he holds fast the doctrine of Christ, that he shares the faith with the Apostles, and with the Church founded by the Redeemer, that there is but one faith in all ages, and one only true one. This faith is alone rational, and alone worthy of man: every other should be called a mere opinion, and, in a practical point of view, is an utter impotency.

Ages passed by, and with them the ancient sects: new times arose, bringing along with them new schisms in the Church. The formal principles of all these productions of egotism were the same; all asserted that Holy Writ, abstracted from Tradition and from the Church, is at once the sole source of religious truth, and the sole standard of its knowledge for the individual. This formal principle, common to all parties separated from the Church; to the Gnostic of the second century, and the Albigensian and Vaudois of the twelfth, to the Sabellian of the third, the Arian of the fourth, and the Nestorian of the fifth century—this principle, we say, led to the most contradictory belief. What indeed can be more opposite to each other, than Gnosticism and Pelagianism, than Sabellianism and Arianism? The very circumstance, indeed, that one and the same formal principle can be applied to every possible mode of belief; or rather that this belief, however contradictory it may be in itself, can still make use of that formal principle, should alone convince every one, that grievous errors must here lie concealed, and that between the individual and the Bible a mediating principle is wanting."—vol. ii. pp. 41-6.

This is, perhaps, a line of argument not unfamiliar to our theological readers; but the principle is put with great force and clearness, and with a certain originality of manner which cannot fail to strike. If any one imagine, that, in the subtle,

but yet clear and conclusive argumentation, of this and many similar passages, there is too much of mere reason, and too little reference to authority or Scripture, let him remember that this is professedly the author's object; that he proposes rather to examine, on abstract principles, the structure of the rival creeds than their scriptural soundness or truth; and looks less to the truth or falsehood of the particular dogmas, than to their coherence as members of the same system, and the consistency of all as part of one harmonious whole.

While we are upon the subject of tradition, we shall transcribe one other passage. There are few subjects on which it is more difficult to define the precise principles of Protestants, no matter what their school, (and, when it comes to practice, we must include the Tractarians in the same category), than on the extent to which it is lawful and fitting to use tradition, as an argument of the truth of any particular doctrine. We think the key to the variations, not only of different sects, but of members of the same community, nay, even of the same individuals, will be found in the following striking and pithy passage.

"Lastly, in respect to tradition, it is sufficiently evident from what has been said, and it has already been explicitly shown, why in the twofold signification above pointed out, Protestants cannot concede to it the same place, which it occupies in the Catholic system. It has occasionally been said, however, that the Reformers had not rejected Tradition 'in the ideal sense;' but only *Traditions*. It is certainly not to be doubted, that still partially subdued by that old ecclesiastical spirit, which, on their secession from the Church, they had unconsciously carried away with them, they believed in the same, and read the Holy Scriptures in its sense. Though *materially*, they did not reject every portion of Tradition, yet they did so *formally*. For, if indeed, they acknowledged the doctrinal decisions of the Church, as embodied in the first four œcumenical Councils, they did so, not on account of their ecclesiastical *objectivity*, but because, according to their own *subjective* views, they found them confirmed by Holy Writ. But the Gospel truth, which hath been delivered over to the Church, for preservation and for propagation, remaineth truth, whether, in consequence of a subjective inquiry, or, of a pretended internal illumination, it be acknowledged or be rejected. Hence, the ecclesiastical traditional principle is this: such and such a doctrine,—for instance, the divinity of Christ,—is a Christian evangelical truth, because the Church, the institution invested with authority from Christ, declares it to be his doctrine;—not because such and such an individual subjectively holds it, as the result of his Scriptural reading,

for a Christian truth. The Bible is ever forced to assume the form of its readers ; it becomes little with the little, and great with the great, and is, therefore, made to pass through a thousand transformations, according as it is reflected in each individuality. If that individuality be shallow, flat, and dull, the Scripture is so represented through its medium : it is made to take the colour of the most one-sided and perverse opinions, and is abused to the support of every folly. In itself, therefore, and without any other medium, the Bible cannot be considered, by the Church, as a rule of faith : on the contrary, the doctrine of the Church is the rule, whereby the Scripture must be investigated. The Reformers failing to acknowledge this great truth, their partial agreement with Tradition was purely *accidental* ; as is most clearly evidenced by the fact, that, in the sequel, nearly all those positive doctrines of Christianity, which Luther and the first Reformers still maintained, have been cast off by their disciples, without their ever ceasing to profess themselves members of the Protestant Church. On no point did the Reformers recognize Tradition for the sake of its objectivity ; and, therefore, they rejected it, whether it accorded or not with their own subjective caprices. What doctrine doth tradition more clearly attest, than that of free-will ? Yet, this they rejected. In short, they entirely merged the objective historical Christianity into their own subjectivity, and were consequently *forced* to throw off Tradition."—vol. ii. p. 119-21.

Nothing is more familiar now-a-days than regrets for the lost unity of Christendom, and aspirations after its restoration. We remember transcribing, one or two years since, a very beautiful passage from Mr. Faber's *Foreign Churches*, which drew a picture of the social condition of Europe during the happy times when the Church was still one and undivided. In this, and in many similar declamations of the same school, there is much certainly to be admired ; but there is in them all, nevertheless, a something which it is difficult to describe, but which cannot fail to strike any Catholic mind. There is, apparently, some hidden consciousness beyond the writer's power to shake off, which controls his pen—confining it to vague and barren generalities, and holding it back from the simple practical details which constitute the real and living beauty of the picture. We cannot help placing in contrast, with these loose and declamatory disquisitions, the following eloquent exposition of the blessings of communion with the true Church, and of the sublime spiritual privileges which are contained in the idea of Catholic unity.

"Hence, it is with the profoundest love, reverence, and devotion, that the Catholic embraces the Church. The very thought of re-

sisting her, of setting himself up in opposition to her will, is one against which his inmost feelings revolt, to which his whole nature is abhorrent : and to bring about a schism—to destroy unity—is a crime, before whose heinousness his bosom trembles, and from which his soul recoils. On the other hand, the idea of community, in the first place, satisfies his feelings and his imagination, and, in the second place, is equally agreeable to his reason ; while, in the third place, the living appropriation of this idea by his will, appears to him to concur with the highest religious and ethical duty of humanity. Let us now consider the first of these reasons. No more beautiful object presents itself to the imagination of the Catholic—none more agreeably captivates his feelings, than the image of the harmonious inter-workings of countless spirits, who, though scattered over the whole globe, endowed with freedom, and possessing the power to strike off into every deviation to the right or to the left ; yet, preserving still their various peculiarities, constitute one great brotherhood for the advancement of each other's spiritual existence,—representing one idea, that of the reconciliation of men with God, who on that account have been reconciled with one another, and are become one body. (Eph. iv. 11—16.) If the state be such a wonderful work of art, that we account it, if not a pardonable, yet a conceivable act, for the ancients to have made it an object of divine worship, and almost everywhere considered the duties of the citizen as the most important ;—if the state be something so sacred and venerable, that the thought of the criminal, who lays on it a destroying and desecrating hand, fills us with detestation ;—what a subject of admiration must the Church be, which, with the tenderest bonds, unites such an infinite variety ; and this unimpeded by every obstacle, by rivers and mountains, deserts and seas, by languages, national manners, customs, and peculiarities of every kind, whose stubborn, unyielding nature defies the power of the mightiest conquerors ? Her peace, which cometh down from Heaven, strikes deeper roots into the human breast, than the spirit of earthly contention. Out of all nations, often so deeply divided by political interests and temporal considerations, the Church builds up the house of God, in which all join in one hymn of praise ; as, in the temple of the harmless village, all petty foes and adversaries gather round the one sanctuary with one mind. And as often here, on a small scale, the peace of God will bring about earthly peace, so there, on a larger scale, the same result will frequently ensue. But who can deem it a matter of astonishment, that Catholics should be filled with joy and hope, and, enraptured at the view of the beautiful construction of their Church, should contemplate with delight that grand corporation which they form ; since the philosophers of art declare, that the beautiful is only *truth manifested and embodied* ? Christ, the eternal truth, hath built the Church : in the communion of the

faithful, truth transformed by his spirit into love, is become living among men : how then could the Church fail in the highest degree of beauty ? Hence, we can comprehend that indescribable joy, which hath ever filled the Church, when existing contests have been allayed, and schisms have been terminated. In the primitive ages, we may adduce the reunion of the Novatian communities with the Catholic Church, so movingly described by Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian of Carthage ; the termination of the Meletian schism, and the rest. From a later period, we may cite the event of the reunion of the Western and Eastern Churches, which occurred at the Council of Florence. Pope Eugenius IV expresses what feelings then overflowed all hearts, when he says, 'Rejoice ye heavens, and exult, O earth ! the wall of separation is pulled down, which divided the Eastern and the Western Churches, peace and concord have returned ; for Christ, the corner-stone, who, out of two, hath made one, unites with the strongest bands of love both walls, and holds them together in the covenant of eternal unity ; and so, after long and melancholy evils, after the dense, cloudy darkness of a protracted schism, the light of long-desired union beams once more upon all. Let our mother, the Church, rejoice, to whom it hath been granted to see her hitherto contending sons return to unity and peace : let her, who, during their division, shed such bitter tears, now thank Almighty God for their beautiful concord. All believers over the face of the earth, all who are called after Christ, may now congratulate their mother, the Catholic Church, and rejoice with her, &c.'—vol. ii. p. 10-13.

We regret very much the impossibility of entering fully into the author's exposition of the doctrines of the rival creeds on the visibility and inerrancy of the Church, the rule of faith, and the authority of general councils, and of the Pope. The argument for the supremacy of the sovereign pontiff derived from the constitution of the Church, is treated briefly, but with great force and eloquence ; and, although there is not a word of direct allusion to the principles of Febronianism, which indeed did not properly come within his plan, yet the incompatibility of these pretensions with the proper government of the Church is clearly demonstrated, and the great key-stone of this pernicious system is silently but effectually undermined.

However, instead of dwelling further on these general questions of authority, we prefer to select a few passages illustrative of the particular doctrines of the Church, especially those which are more immediately the subject of every-day controversy. There is but little of what is popularly called *Germanism* in the remarks on our doctrine of Invocation of Saints.

"The setting up of the saints by the Church, as patterns for religious and moral imitation, connected with the doctrine of their intercession in our behalf with God, and of the corresponding invocation of their aid on our parts, constitutes the principle of the veneration of saints, which is in the same way related to the supreme worship, as the mutual relation existing between creatures, is to the state of dependence of them all on their common *Creator and Lord*. Virtuous creatures look with love and reverence on those of their body, who were eminently endowed by God, and, in virtue of the love implanted within them, they wish each other all good, and lift up their hands in each others' behalf unto God, who, rejoicing in the love that emanates from himself, and binds his creatures together, hears their mutual supplications, in case they be worthy of his favour, and out of the fulness of his power satisfies them; and this no creature is able to accomplish. Moreover, if we are to worship Christ, we are forced to venerate his saints. Their brightness is nought else, than an irradiation from the glory of Christ, and a proof of his infinite power, who, out of dust and sin, is able to raise up eternal spirits of light. He who, therefore, revereth the saints, glorifieth Christ, from whose power they have sprung, and whose true divinity they attest. Hence the festivals of the Lord, whereby the commemoration of the most important events in the Redeemer's history is, in the course of the year, with the most living solemnity renewed, the Church hath encircled with the feasts of the saints, who, through the whole progressive history of the Church, testify the fruitful effects of the coming of the Son of God into this world, of his ministry and his sufferings, his resurrection and the outpouring of the spirit; so that, accordingly, in the lives of the saints, the effects of the life of Christ, and its undeniable fruits, are brought home at once to our contemplation and to our feelings. And with reason may we say, that as God is no God of the dead, but of the living, so Christ is no God of a generation, tarrying in the sleep of death, but of a people truly awakened in the spirit, and growing up to sanctification and to bliss. Lastly, it is to be borne in mind, that the doctrine of the Church does not declare that the saints *must*, but only that they *can*, be invoked; since the Council of Trent, in the passage we have cited, says, 'only that it is *useful and salutary* to invoke with confidence the intercession of the saints.' Of faith in the divinity of Christ, and in his mediatorial office, or in his sanctifying grace, and the like, the Church by no means teaches that it is merely useful and salutary, but that it is absolutely necessary to salvation."—vol. ii. pp. 140-42.

He passes on to consider, in the following section, the Lutheran doctrine upon this important question. It is very different from that of the new school of Anglicans; but still

there is a great deal in Moehler's observations which applies equally to both:—

“In the first place, they concede that the lives of the saints are worthy of imitation, and that they should be honoured by our imitation. They even deny not that the saints pray for the Church at large, but they assert that the saints must not be prayed to for their intercession. The reason which they adduce is the same that brought about the dissolution of the ecclesiastical communion,—namely, that Christ is our only Mediator! We must, however, examine the coherency of these ideas. It is indeed passing strange that the saints should pray to God for us, without apprehending that they encroach on the mediatorial office of Christ; and God and Christ should even permit these, their functions, in our behalf, and accordingly find them free from all presumption: and yet that we, on our parts, should not beseech the exercise of these kindly offices, because our prayer would involve an offence, whereas the thing prayed for involves none. But the prayers of the saints must surely be termed culpable, if our requests for such prayers be culpable. But should their supplications in our behalf be laudable and pleasing unto God, wherefore should not the prayer for such supplications be so likewise? Accordingly, the consciousness of their active intercession necessarily determines an affirmation of the same on our part, and excites a joy which, when we analyze it, already includes the interior wish and prayer for these their active aids. For all communion is mutual, and to the exertions of one side the counter-exertions of the other must correspond, and *vice versâ*. Certes, our indifference for the intercession of the saints would annihilate the same, and completely destroy all communion existing between the two forms of the one Church. But if it be impossible for us to be indifferent on this matter, then the doctrine of the Catholic Church remains unshaken.

“The intercession of the saints, as well as the corresponding invocation of that intercession on our part, is so far from impairing the merits of Christ, that it is merely an effect of the same,—a fruit of his all-atoning power that again united heaven and earth. This our ecclesiastical prayers very beautifully and strikingly express; as they all, without exception, even such wherein we petition the benign influence of the celestial inhabitants on our earthly pilgrimage, are addressed in the Redeemer's name. Moreover, if the intercession of the saints interfere with the mediatorial office of Christ, then must all intercession, and prayer for intercession, even among the living, be absolutely rejected. It should be borne in mind, that Catholics say of no saint, he hath died for us; he hath purchased for us redemption in his blood, and hath sent down the Holy Spirit! But, by communion with Christ, all glorified through him, partake as well in his righteousness as in all things connected therewith; and hence the power of their intercession; hence also

the right of petitioning for that intercession from the living, as well as from the departed just."—vol. ii. pp. 144-46.*

The second book is full of most curious and interesting matter. The history of the Anabaptist sect—the first-born of Protestantism; its primitive constitution; the modification which it underwent under the reformer Menno; the strange and incongruous medley of ancient and modern heresies which it combined into a system; are detailed with the utmost minuteness and accuracy, but yet with a simplicity of manner and a lucidness of arrangement which beguile the tedium of what would otherwise be a tiresome and difficult as well as uninteresting study. The formula of initiation employed by the early Anabaptists is too remarkable to be omitted:—

"According to the baptismal formula of Hans Denk, every candidate renounced seven evil spirits; namely, man's fear, man's wisdom, man's understanding, man's art, man's counsel, man's strength, and man's ungodliness; and in return received, fear of God, wisdom of God, and so forth. Melchior Rink made use of the following formula:—'Art thou a Christian? Yes.—What dost thou believe, then? I believe in God, my Lord Jesus Christ.—For what wilt thou give me thy works? I will give them for a penny.—For what wilt thou give me thy goods; for a penny also? No.—For what wilt thou give then thy life; for a penny also? No.—So then thou seest, thou art as yet no Christian, for thou hast not yet the right faith, and art not resigned, but art yet too much attached to creatures and to thyself; therefore thou art not rightly baptized in Christ's baptism with the Holy Spirit, but art only baptized with water in John's baptism.'"—vol. ii. pp. 162-163.

To an English reader, however, the chapter upon the Quakers, and that on the Socinians, will be more attractive; and certain recent controversies in the north of Ireland will give especial interest to the concluding chapter of the work—on the Arminians or Remonstrants—in the eyes of all who enter into the question regarding good works, agitated between the Irish Tractarians and their evangelical antagonists. The system of Swedenborg, too, is treated at great length; and, as far as is possible in so wild a farrago of extravagances, with more of order, and a nearer approach to intelligibleness, than we have ever met in any other author. We are sure, however, we shall consult the reader's taste better by selecting, in preference to any of them, the account given by Moshler of the origin of the sect of Methodists in England.

* See ante, p. 88, *et seq.*

This now powerful body is described under the head of Herrnhutters, or Moravian Brethren. Having briefly detailed the origin of the Herrnhutters (in some of their leading characteristics anterior to the Reformation), and described the modification the system underwent by the infusion of Pietistic principles under Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and Watteville, he gives, principally from Southey's *Life of Wesley*, a very interesting sketch of the rise of Methodism in England;—a perfect counterpart for the Pietistic movement of Spener and his associates in Germany. Though the passage is a long one, we give it entire, with the exception of an observation regarding the monastic orders, which in a less unexceptionable writer would savour of the Joseph II school, and which might much more fittingly have been spared.*

"The religious fanaticism of the Grand Rebellion in England, pushed even to frenzy, and to the most atrocious crimes, was followed by a period of general spiritual laxity, which, passing through various grades of transition, sank, at last, into the most frivolous unbelief. England had seen a Parliament which furnished a proof that an excess of distempered religious feelings can be as deeply revolting to God and to reason, involving even the crime of regicide, as the absence of all religious principles. That Parliament had been succeeded by another, whose illegal convocation Cromwell dared to justify, by the pretended interference of an immediate Divine agency; a Parliament which, to the opening speech of the deceitful fanatic, bore testimony, 'that, from the very tone in which it was spoken, it might be inferred, that the Holy Ghost worked within him;' and, which opened its deliberations with religious solemnities of its own device, whereat the members confessed that 'they were filled with a peace and joyfulness, and had a sense of the presence of, and an inmost fellowship with, Jesus Christ, such as they had never before experienced.' This period of fanaticism was followed by a generation, in whose higher circles the principles of a Shaftesbury ever gained ground; and a state of morals prevailed, which Fielding has depicted in his *Tom Jones*. The populace, which had recruited the Cromwellian army with preachers, enthusiasts, seers, and prophets; that had rejected an established ministry, as totally unnecessary, and as destructive to evangelical freedom; lay now as deeply buried in the mire, as it had been previously exalted into a dizzy elevation. The Anglican clergy, on the one hand, despised, and, therefore, repelled by the blind and excited people, had, on the other hand, learned little from their times of persecution. All enthusiasm, life, activity, deep

* Compare the bull "Auctorem Fidei," Prop. lxxxiv., though this goes much further than Moehler.

conviction of the magnitude of their calling, remained, for the most part, ever alien from their minds and habits ; so that, on the whole, they looked with a stupid, indifferent eye on the ever-growing depravity.

"During the long period of her existence, the Catholic Church has, not unfrequently, had to suffer from like disorders in her clergy. But, it hath ever pleased the Lord to raise up men, endued with sufficient courage and energy to strike terror and infuse new life into a torpid priesthood, as well as into a degenerate people. According to the different character of different times, the mode of their rise and action was different ; but, the conviction was universal, that mere laws and ordinances, under such circumstances, were fruitless ; and only living, practical energy, was capable of infusing new life into an age diseased. On the one hand, we see numerous individuals, at the instigation of the heads of the Church, who were acquainted with their powers of energetic persuasion, travel about as preachers in remote districts, awakening, among high and low, a sense of their misery, and stirring up the desire for deliverance from sin ; or, on the other hand, we behold founders of mighty orders arise, whose members made it their duty to undertake the instruction of the people, or their moral resuscitation (two very different things), or both these offices together, neglected, as they had been, by the ordinary pastors. * * *

"The end which several of the smaller Protestant sects, and particularly the Methodists, proposed to themselves, was nearly the same as that which led to the origin of the monastic institutes adverted to. It appears even not unworthy of attention, that, precisely at the time when the Pietists were rapidly gaining ground, and Zinzendorf, as well as the founder of Methodism, were flourishing, there arose in the Catholic Church a less celebrated, indeed, but not less active, and (as regards the religious life of Italy), not less influential personage—I mean St. Alphonsus Liguori, a native of the Neapolitan territory, who took compassion on the neglected people, and devoted himself to their religious and moral culture. The important distinction, however, is not to be overlooked, that such Catholic institutes spring from the conviction, that the spirit of the Church only is to be infused into individuals, or to be carefully awakened and cherished ; while the above-named sects, in a greater or a less degree, ever assailed the fundamental doctrines of the religious community out of which they arose, and strove to set the same aside. The origin of Protestantism itself is here felt ; for, as the Reformers acted against the Catholic Church, so the community founded by them was, in turn, treated by its own children in the like manner. The want of reverence towards father and mother (for such is the Church to us in a spiritual relation), is transmitted from generation to generation ; and the wicked spirit that first raised the son up against his father, goes out of the

son as soon as he becomes a parent, and, in turn, goads his offspring on to wreak bloody vengeance upon him."—vol. ii. pp. 259-261.

The connection of Methodism with the Herrnhutters is thus explained:—

"The acquaintance of John Wesley with some Herrnhutters, principally with David Nitschmann, whom, as a fellow-passenger on a voyage out to America, his brother Charles had, in the year 1735, learned to know and esteem; then his connection with Spangenberg—his visit to the Herrnhut communities in Germany and Holland—occasioned a new epoch in the history of his interior life. He became acquainted with the doctrine, that after the previous convulsive feelings, the clearest consciousness of grace before God, accompanied with a heavenly, inward peace, must suddenly arise in the soul; and this doctrine obtained, for a long time at least, his fullest conviction. Yet it was only some years after, he was favoured with such a moment, and (as he himself declares) on the 29th May, 1739, in Aldersgate-street, London, at a quarter before nine o'clock. How, amid such violent, inward emotions, the time could be so accurately observed, the striking of the clock heard, or the watch attended to, is, indeed, marvellous to conceive! This genuine Lutheran doctrine was, thenceforward, embraced with peculiar ardour, was everywhere preached up, and never failed to be attended with sudden conversions. The impressive eloquence of Whitfield, especially, was very successful in bringing about such momentary changes of life, that were very frequently accompanied with convulsive fits, the natural results of an excessive excitement of the imagination, among a people for the greater part totally ignorant and deeply deluded. Phenomena of this kind were called 'the outward signs of grace,' and were even held to be miracles. The pulpits of the Established Church were refused to the enthusiasts and fanatics, as the Methodists were now called; and, thereby, the occasion was afforded to the latter to constitute themselves into an independent body. Wesley now raised himself to the episcopal dignity, and ordained priests: a pretended Greek bishop, called Erasmus, then residing in England, was also solicited to impart holy orders. The separation from the Anglican Church was now formally proclaimed, and the most strenuous opposition commenced.

"The friendly relations between the Herrnhutters and the Methodists were also soon disturbed. A weighty cause for this, as Southey justly observes, was, doubtless, to be looked for in the fact, that neither Zinzendorf nor Wesley were disposed to hold a subordinate position, one to the other; and two chiefs could not be honoured in the same community."—vol. ii. pp. 263-5.

We shall add but one other extract, on the Antinomian principles which now prevailed among the English Methodists; the natural result of the "inward experiences," the

"consciousness of grace," and the "certainty of justification," which formed the leading features of the system :—

"The prevalence of Antinomian principles, even among the Wesleyan Methodists, was of very important consequence. Wesley distinguished between justification and sanctification, although he allowed both to take place at the same moment. But, in despite of an asserted inward connection between the two things, the mere assumption that Divine Grace could be annexed to any other principle, in our spiritual life, than that whereby man manifests his obedience unto God, necessarily led to a contempt of the law ; so that, even here also, the doctrine that man is justified by faith only, betrays its essentially Antinomian character. The following account, coming, as it does, from a quarter perfectly friendly to the Methodists, cannot lie under the suspicion of misrepresentation. Fletcher,—a very remarkable, active, and amiable disciple of Wesley, says, in his *Checks to Antinomianism* : 'Antinomian principles have spread like wildfire among our societies. Many persons, speaking in the most glorious manner of Christ, and their interest in his complete salvation, have been found living in the grossest immoralities. How few of our societies, where cheating, extorting, or some other evil, hath not broke out, and given such shakes to the Ark of the Gospel, that, had not the Lord interposed, it must have been overset ! I have seen them, who pass for believers, follow the strain of corrupt nature ; and when they should have exclaimed against Antinomianism, I have heard *them cry out against the legality of their wicked hearts*, which they said, *still suggested that they were to do something for* their salvation,' (that is to say, the voice of their conscience ever cried out against their immoral conduct ; but they held that voice to be a temptation of Satan, who wished to derogate from the power of faith). 'How few of our celebrated pulpits,' continues Fletcher, 'where more has not been said *for sin*, than *against it* !'

"Fletcher cites the Methodist Hill in particular, as asserting, 'That even adultery and murder do not hurt the pleasant children, but rather work for their good : God sees no sin in believers, whatever sins they may commit. My sins may displease God, my person is always acceptable to him. Though I should outsin Manasses, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in Christ. Hence, in the midst of adulteries, murders, and incests, he can address me with, "thou art all fair, my love, my undefiled ; there is no spot in thee." It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen, to distinguish sins according to the fact, not according to the person. Although I highly blame those who say, "let us sin, that grace may abound," yet adultery, incest, and murder, shall, upon the whole, make me holier on earth, and merrier in heaven ;' that is to say, the more I need the pardoning grace of God, the stronger becomes my faith, the holier I become." —vol. ii. pp. 268-9.

We should gladly continue our extracts at greater length, but we are not without apprehension of having even already exceeded all reasonable limits. At a time like the present, when men's minds are turned to the consideration of religious controversy with an earnestness and activity unexampled at any former period, the *Symbolism* is calculated to be the instrument of much good; and there is scarcely any drawback on the satisfaction with which we have perused it. Perhaps, indeed, there are some of its arguments too *German* (we speak in the popular phrase) in their manner to be fully appreciated by mere English readers; and we have already intimated our dissent from a few of its propositions, of which we may particularize, one expressing a wish for the free extension of the cup to all,* (i. p. 353), and another which we consider calculated, though evidently not intended, to convey a wrong impression regarding the nature of the minor orders,* (ii. p. 79), as also a few occasional expressions which seem to imply a very false estimate of the motives of the leading reformers. But these, and one or two other trivial blemishes, can hardly be said to detract from the merit of this invaluable work. For that topic of controversial argumentation which divines call *Ratio Theologica*, it will be an unexhaustible treasure-house; and the depth and comprehensiveness of its views, the acuteness and solidity of its reasoning, and the clearness and simplicity of its arrangement, establish beyond the possibility of question its claim to the character bestowed upon it soon after its publication, by one whose very name is an authority: "the most profound work upon the Philosophy of Divinity which our time has produced."†

ART. V.—1. *The Nestorians, or Lost Tribes.* By Asahel Grant, M.D. 8vo. London: 1843.

2. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith.* London: 1843-4.

IN the month of October, and in the year of our Lord 1834, Dr. Grant was in "an increasing and delightful circle of practice" in the town of Utica, New York. In the month of

* The Council of Trent is very express: "Si quis dixerit sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam non justis causis et rationibus adductam fuisse ut laicos atque etiam clericos non conficientes sub panis tantum specie communicant, aut in eo errasse; anathema sit."—Con. Trid. Sess. xxii. can. ii.

† See Auctorem Fidei, Prop. iv.

‡ Dr. Wiseman's Moorfields Lectures, preface, p. ix.

October, of the following year, Dr. and Mrs. Grant had taken up their residence at Ooroomiah, a Persian city, situate near the lake of that name, on the confines of Kurdistan. In the interval they had given up that prospect, so cheering to a doctor and his lady, of an increasing and delightful circle of practice, with all its glittering accompaniments—consigned their patients to other, not unwilling, friends—packed up bottles and pill-boxes—taken leave of friend and acquaintance—traversed the wide expanse of the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and part of the Euxine seas—travelled seven hundred miles on horse-back through the mountains of Armenia, and established themselves in a miserable town, and among a people of savage and ferocious manners, on the frontier of Persia. Verily, reader, thou mayst look astonished, and be agitated in thy mind, and inquire, with much curious and anxious longing, how this thing, so wonderful and unheard of in this the nineteenth century, did come to pass. And it was in this manner it occurred. In the month of October, of the year 1834, there met in the town of Utica, according to their yearly custom, “the Board of American Commissioners for Foreign Missions.” There had come unto them, some two or three years before, a voice from these same mountains of Kurdistan, not indeed as the voice of an angel, but in the more sublunary and every day matter of fact form of a report from the Messrs. Smith and Dwight, stating unto them that the Nestorian Christians, who tarry in these same mountains, and who were so memorable in the early ages of the Church, were likely at their call to emerge from that obscurity in which they had for many ages been almost lost sight of by the civilized world; and they, the American Commissioners, &c., commiserating their wretched and benighted lot, determined to be unto them as brethren should be unto brethren; and among other measures suggested by their fraternal charity, they resolved unanimously, that “*a convincing and urgent plea*” should be presented for a suitable physician to engage in the incipient labours of that important mission; and the *plea* presented appearing urgent and convincing to the Doctor, aye, even beyond that of the increasing and delightful circle of practice in the town of Utica, he resolved on being obedient to the call. For more than a year it had gone through the length and breadth of the land, and not a physician could be found to go, until the above mentioned month of October 1834. He and Mr. Grant were on their way to Persia in the following spring. After

resting a few days at Tabrees, where they met with a cordial reception from their *associates*, the Rev. Mr. Perkins *and lady*, the Doctor proceeded to Ooroomiah, where comfortable houses being provided, his associate arrived soon after *with the ladies*.

The object of the Doctor's *mission* was to make straight the way of the Lord, before his spiritual associates; calomel and tartar emetic were to prepare for the reception of the Bible. While the pulse was being felt with one hand, the other was to be useful in administering prayerful consolations and edifying narratives, nicely bound, from the printing press of Ooroomiah.

"The healing art, it was believed, might procure favour and protection, by affording convincing proof of the benevolence of our motives; for it is well known, that to relieve the sufferings of the body, is the most ready way of access to the heart. It would also procure access to places where none but a physician could go."

After two years of missionary labours his party receives a strong reinforcement from America.

"The Rev. A. L. Halliday and Mr. William R. Stocking arrived *with their wives*, January 6, 1837; Rev. Willard Jones *and wife*, November 7, 1839; Rev. A. H. Wright, M.D. July 25, 1840; and Mr. Edward Breath, a printer, has embarked with a press of such a construction as to admit of its transportation on horses from the shores of the Black Sea."

Surely with such an array of goodly missionaries, male and female, with their comfortable lodgings, agreeable society, and portable printing press to boot, what heretic or infidel can remain unenlightened? They can procure a copy of the Gospel, in the vernacular language, at the office of the American missions; and, therefore, they must be Christians.

But the more especial object of our author's labours, was, as we before stated, the Nestorian Christians,—a number of independent tribes, that dwell in the most difficult fastnesses of the Koordish mountains, in the centre of what was the ancient kingdom of Assyria. On the southern extremity of their territory is Arbela, once the battle-field of Alexander. The Ten Thousand passed through it on their retreat from Persia; and the country is precisely the same, and the people as rude in their habits and homesteads, as their forefathers are described to have been in the immortal page of Xenophon. From their rock-bound fortresses and rugged mountain-tops, they have defied, for centuries, the power of Turkey on the one side, and of Persia on the other. Their form of govern-

ment is republican, and its nominal head is the patriarch who resides near the Julamerk, a fortified city on the banks of the Zabat, one of the tributaries of the Tigris. It consists of one main street, surrounded by walls, once protected by European cannon, furnished by French engineers. They have some other strongholds in the mountains. Their principal city in the plain was Jezireh, an island in the Tigris, on the confines of Diarbekir. This latter city, however, has been compelled to receive a Turkish governor. Here, as in the other towns of Nestorians, only a few Turks occasionally reside. The public exercise of their religion was until lately prohibited. There was no muezzin to call from mosque or minaret the true believer to prayers; and should any turbaned follower of the prophet venture into the streets during the time of service upon the Sabbath-day, he was in danger of falling a victim to the zeal or the fanaticism of its inhabitants.

Some of our readers may, perhaps, ask, "who are the Nestorians? and what are the Nestorian churches?" Our learned readers will excuse a few words of preface before we enter on the question that immediately claims our notice. It is now 1400 years ago since Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, promulgated the opinions which are still known by his name. He had a zeal, an ability, and an eloquence, which would have made him a rival of his predecessor, Chrysostom, had they been properly employed; but they were united to pride and ambition, and the qualities which should have led many to salvation, gave plausibility to errors which have led millions to perdition. The authority of the Council of Ephesus, which declared that only one person existed in Christ, convicted the Byzantine pontiff of error, and his own contumacy made him guilty of heresy. He died an exile on the borders of Nubia, unreconciled even in his dying moments with the Church which he had offended and betrayed. But his tenets were not permitted to die with him. The energy and power of the second Theodosius checked its progress throughout the empire. Penal enactments, legal disabilities, and imperial disfavour, continued with undeviating perseverance for two centuries, finally extinguished the Nestorian opinions in the provinces that were subject to the successors of Constantine; and at the time of Justinian there was not a church, and scarcely a professor, of that doctrine to be found to the west of the Euphrates. But it was far otherwise in the east. Among those who, by subscribing the

decrees of Ephesus, and holding communion with Cyril, contributed to restore peace and unity to the Church, was Rabulas, bishop of Edessa, the Athens of Syria. This city was the seat of learning for the nations of the east. Within its walls were to be seen the natives of Armenia and Persia, of Petra and Ispahan; wandering students from the banks of the Caspian and the Oxus, and even from the farthest promontory of Yemen. The hardy Arab of the desert sent his child to receive a nobler lesson in its schools than the wild life of the camp or the desert could give. The theology of the schools of Edessa was in a great measure derived from the writings of Theodore of Mopsueste.* Nestorius had also read them, and many say that it was thence he first derived the principles of his error. The text books of their schools, and the writings of their masters, were of course revered by the students, and their teaching looked on as the criterion of truth. When the dim haze of error that was spread over the ten thousand pages of Theodore became condensed into the one heretical dogma of Nestorius, the words which gave a body and intelligible form of expression to their preconceived opinions, were eagerly adopted by the schools of Edessa, and it was publicly taught and generally believed that Christ had two persons, and that Mary was not the mother of God. When Rabulas gave in his adhesion to the Council of Ephesus, he tried to bring over to his side the pupils of the schools, but in vain. Error is more easily infused than corrected. He had recourse to measures of severity, but that severity only confirmed and propagated it the more. The students dispersed to their own homes, and became apostles of Nestorianism in their respective localities. Among these was Barsumas, afterwards bishop of Nisibis. Crafty, licentious, and sanguinary, he aspired to the distinction of making Nestorianism the religion of his country, and he hesitated at nothing that was likely to promote his cause. The persecution he had himself endured did not teach him a lesson of tolerance to others. His first and most effective instrument was the political animosity of Persia to Rome. The throne of Persia was then occupied by Perozes, the sixteenth of the Sassanian dynasty, and with it he inherited from his ancestors a deadly hatred of the Roman name, and a per-

* A considerable portion of the works of this remarkable writer has been recovered by Cardinal Mai. See No. XXVIII. p. 439, art. *Cardinal Mai's Spicilegium Romanum*.

severing hostility to the encroachments of its power. The Euphrates had borne upon its tide the blood of many a legionary to the ocean, and if the Roman was bound to avenge the indignity of Valerian, the Persian was defending the threshold of his native land. A contest of 400 years had transmitted from sire to son a persevering legacy of hate, and whatever was treated with favour by the one state was sure to be visited by the vengeance of the other. The establishment of Christianity within the Persian frontier was not only forbidden by the intolerant spirit of Zoroaster, but it seemed a disloyalty to the crowned majesty of the realm. How was it possible (it was asked) that they could be faithful and true to their liege lord, who were bound by so many ties of interest and affection to their brethren of Rome, and Jerusalem, and Antioch? What reliance was to be placed upon their fidelity, whose best and holiest obedience was given to a stranger? These reflections, which so often before had stimulated the kings of Persia to acts of sanguinary violence, were pressed upon the monarch's mind by the artful policy and insidious eloquence of Barsumas. The Christians, he was told, would never give true allegiance to him or to his successors. They would be ever ready to assist the Romans. If Christians were to be tolerated, and their numbers prevented extermination, it would be better to have friends than foes. It would be better to have those Christians whom the Roman emperor punished and persecuted, and drove with ignominy from his dominions. These would be likely to cling, in weal and in woe, to the hand that gave them protection and assistance. Such were the Nestorians, whom the policy of the Romans was bent on exterminating. It would strengthen his empire, and extinguish a formidable internal foe, if the Christians of Persia could be brought to embrace the opinions of the persecuted Nestorius. The reasoning was plausible, and we know that it was successful. Barsumas was encouraged by the smile of Perozes, and sustained in his projects by the influence and the offer of his power. Having associated with himself some bishops, formerly his companions in the schools of Edessa, and who entered fully into his views, he commenced his work of reformation. The Cranmer of his time and country, he made religion the mere servile handmaid of the civil, and that, a Pagan power. He facilitated the reception of his sentiments by permitting, and subsequently by commanding, the marriage of the monks and clergy. The latter, by an indulgence unheard of even in the

present degeneracy of the Greeks, were permitted to marry even to the seventh time,—with this limitation alone, that if the uxorious cleric attained to the happiness of a seventh partner, the union was to be contracted with a widow; she was looked on (will our fair readers pardon our even repeating the phrase?) as only the moiety of a woman. But the progress of innovation was not unopposed. There were, even in the distant regions of Persia, some that would not bend the knee to Baal, nor willingly abandon the teaching and the traditions of their fathers. But the Bishop of Nisibis was not a man to be resisted with impunity. He applied to the monarch for a military power to enforce compliance, and with an armed escort he performed the visitation of the churches of Persia. Wo to the hapless priest or prelate that offered any opposition. Blood and violence followed his footsteps. It is said that more than 7,000 martyrs of every age, and rank, and sex, were numbered along his path. Many more, seeking safety in flight, took refuge in the neighbouring states, and left their homes and altars a prey to the sanguinary reformer. The vacant churches were filled by creatures of his own. Schools and colleges were established for the maintenance of his institutions. His successors were animated by kindred sentiments. The Nestorian churches of Persia were favoured by the royal countenance of Nushirwan, the third in succession from Perozes, and acquired a stability which subsequent changes of empire have not been able to disturb. Nestorianism has outlived the dynasty to whose insidious policy it owes its propagation throughout the dominions of Persia.

The influence of the Nestorian bishops was not limited to the countries that were subject to the children of Artaxerxes. Their zeal would bring Asia into subjection to their spiritual empire. Within two or three centuries after the time of Perozes, large and numerous congregations were spread over that wide tract of country that lies between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf; and the authority of the Catholicos of Babylon was recognized, from the western slope of Libanus to the frontiers of Japan. "His missionaries," to use the language of Gibbon, which, in this instance, was warranted by the fact, "pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus, and the banks of the Selinga." The regions north and east of Hindoo Koosh, were visited and explored by their adventurous zeal. In the eighth century, Timothy, who was their patriarch, sent an episcopal letter to the princes of the

Tartar dynasty, exhorting them to embrace the Christian faith. Abulfeda and others, assure us that his efforts were attended with success. In the life of John, the sixtieth Catholicos, it is recorded, that a Tartar Khan, who was converted with 200,000 of his people, sent to inquire from his spiritual father how the Eucharist was to be celebrated, in a country where corn and wine were unknown; or how the Lent was to be kept by those who used no other food at any season than the flesh-meat and the milk of their numerous flocks. The scruples of the monarch were set at rest, by the permission to use the thinner kinds of milk, and the celebration of the Eucharist was limited to the solemnity of Easter. The powerful tribe of the Keraïtes was almost exclusively Christian in the eleventh century. It was the conversion of some influential tribe, and, it may be, the possession by its ruler of the priestly dignity, that gave occasion to the story of Prester John, which has been current in Europe since the middle ages. A descendent of this very rev. Tartar Khan, was seen by Marco Polo, and is described in his travels. It is by no means improbable, that the Thibetian worship of the Lama, originated in some corruption of the Nestorian creed. The many coincidences between it and the Christian worship and discipline, are too striking to be the result of accident. It has a rite very closely resembling the Eucharistic sacrifice. It has prayers for the dead, and a choral service very like the liturgies. It has religious communities of men and women, like the monasteries and convents of the Christian world, and all its members are subject to the one supreme presiding head.*

* "Hoc solum dico," says P. Gruber, in 1664, "diabolum ibi ita ecclesiam Catholicam imitare, ut quamvis nullus Europeanus aut Christianus ibi unquam fuerit, adeo tamen in omnibus essentialibus rebus conveniunt cum Romanâ ecclesia, ut sacrificium missæ cum pane et vino celebrari, extremam unctionem dari, matrimonium benedici. Super ægrotos rogari, processiones institui idolorum reliquias honorari, monasteria tam monachorum tam monialium inhabitari, in anno sæpius jejunari, gravissimis mortificationibus se affici, episcopos creari, missionarios in summa paupertate nudipedes per istam desertam Tartariam usque ad Sinas mitti." See Thevenot, tom. ii.

"On trouve chez ces Lamas beaucoup de cérémonies, et des usages semblables aux usages et aux cérémonies qui s'observent parmi les Chrétiens. Ils ont l'eau bénite et le chant du chœur, ils prient pour les morts, leur habillement est semblable à celui dont ont peint les apôtres. Ils portent le mitre et le chapeau comme les évêques, sans parler de leur grand Lama, qui est à peu près parmi eux, ce qu'est le Souverain Pontife parmi les Chrétiens."—*Du Halde*, tom. iv.

"Religiosi homines ac laici fere singuli patrem spiritualem habent cui peccata sua generatem aperiunt."—*Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 459.

"It is an old notion that the religion of Thibet is a corrupted Christianity, and even Father Desiderii, a Jesuit, who visited the country about the begin-

Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century found numerous congregations of the Nestorians, in very many of the cities through which he passed from Mosul to Peking. John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan friar, who penetrated into Mongol Tartary, towards the close of the thirteenth century, found them a numerous and well-organized body in Kamballig, a populous city on the northern frontiers of China. In a letter dated the 8th of January, 1305, and published by Wadding, he gives a very feeling description of the trials to which they subjected him.* The ancient inscription discovered near Sigan, in 1625, containing, in Chinese and Syrian characters, an account of the Christian religion, and of its introduction into the celestial empire, refers that event so far back as the year 635, and the reign of Tay-tsong. It also found its way through the port of Canton; and, in the year 1274, two churches, built by the Nestorian governor of the province of Manji, on the river Kiang, were not more than adequate to the accommodation of those who assembled there to worship.

The spread of Mahometanism, and the establishment of

ning of the century, thinks he can resolve all their mysteries into ours."—*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lvii. p. 476.

* The following is an extract of this very interesting letter: "Nestoriani quidem Christianitatis titulum præferentes, sed a Christianâ religione plurimum deviantes, tantum invaluerunt in partibus istis quod non permittant quempiam Christianum alterius ritus, habere quantumlibet parvum oratorium nec aliam quam Nestorianam publicare doctrinam, et ideo præfati Nestoriani, per se et per alios pecunia corruptos persecutiones mihi gravissimas intulerunt, asserentes quod non essem missus a Domino Papa, sed essem magnus explorator et dementator hominum. Ita persæpe ad iudicium fui tractus cum ignominia mortis.....Quidam rex illius regionis, Georgius de secta Nest. Christianorum, qui erat de genere illustris magni regis, qui dictus fuit presbyter Joannes, primo anno quo huc veni, mihi adhæsit, et ad veritatem fidei Catholice per me conversus, minores ordines suscepit, mihiq; ministranti, regis vestibus indutus ministravit. Sed quidam alii Nestoriani ipsum de apostasia accusaverunt, tamen ipse magnam populi sui partem, ad fidem Catholicam adduxit, et ecclesiam pulchram construxit, in honorem Sanctæ Trinitatis et Domini Papæ vocans eam ecclesiam Romanam. Qui rex Georgius ante sex annos, migravit ad Dominum, verus Christianus. Fratres tamen ipsius, cum essent perfdi in erroribus Nestorianis, omnes quos ille converterat, post obitum illius subverterunt, ad schisma pristinum reducendo.....Si habuissem duos vel tres socios coadjutores meos, forte imperator Cham fuisset baptizatus.....Ministro generali ordinis nostri supplico pro antiphonario, legendis sanctum, graduale et psalterio, cum nota pro exemplari, quia non habeo nisi breviarium portatile et parvum missale.....Ego jam sæni et canus factus sum potius laboribus et tribulationibus quam ætate, sum enim annorum quinquaginta octo. Didici competenter linguam et literam Tartaricam, et jam transtuli in illam linguam totum novum testamentum et psalterium." He was made archbishop of Kamballig by Clement V, and died about 1330. Seven Franciscan friars were sent to him from Rome, of whom three only reached their destination.

the Saracenic empire, seems not to have much affected the Nestorian Churches of Central Asia. During the caliphate, they continued in undisturbed possession, and were permitted the free exercise, of their religious rites and worship. The fanaticism of individual emirs, or governors, may have subjected them to local and temporary persecution; but the general character of their institutions remained unaltered. It was fortunate for them, when Asia was overrun and laid waste by the barbarians of Zinghis, that they were governed by a patriarch of Tartar extraction. Jabelaha, a native of Mongol Tartary, had been commissioned by his prince to carry some presents to the holy sepulchre in Jerusalem. After performing the objects of his mission, he entered a monastery, and took the habit of the religious in the Holy Land. Under the spiritual guidance of the Abbot Barsumas, he made such progress in the virtues of a religious life, that he attracted the attention of the Nestorian patriarch. His merit, perhaps his rank, procured his election to the archiepiscopal see of Toncat. He came to Bagdad on the death of Denha the patriarch, and was appointed Catholicos in his stead. When the Tartars got possession of the city, he occupied the patriarchal chair; and his influence with his countrymen, of whom many were probably Nestorians, procured for them some important privileges, and preserved them from many of the miseries attendant on their invasion and occupation of the country. When the crescent of Othman triumphed over the declining power of the caliphs, and the sceptre, or the sword of Mahomet, passed into the hands of Amurath and his descendants, the condition of the oriental sects of Christians remained unaltered. The fanaticism which raised the war-cry, and unsheathed the sword so fiercely against the Christian warriors of the West, disdained the ignoble and profitless persecution of the scattered Churches of Asia, and remained satisfied with their tribute and submission. Its utmost strength was needed to sustain the tide of battle, that so often rolled back, baffled and defeated, from the walls of Constantine. But, if they attracted or provoked no direct hostility from their Turkish rulers, they were affected by the vicissitudes that ever accompany the transfer of political power. The intercourse of one Church with another, and the influence of the patriarch over them all, was diminished, and, in many instances, had altogether ceased. Their schools and colleges were dissolved; the ordinary succession of the ministry broken, never again to be renewed.

These misfortunes commenced before the time of Zinghis; and, every day increasing, they were completed by the internal dissensions, the social insecurity, and the universal misgovernment of the Turks. Many once flourishing Churches have long ceased to exist. The greater part have dwindled away into comparative insignificance, and afford little evidence of what they were, when one of their own writers, in the excess of his admiration of their extent and numbers, believed them to surpass both the Greek and Latin communions.

Until the middle of the sixteenth century, all the members and Churches of the Nestorian creed acknowledged the supremacy of one pontiff, the Catholicos of Babylon. His patriarchal see was in Bagdad, which is the modern representative of the once imperial queen of the East. His jurisdiction is very similar to that exercised by the Roman pontiff over the members of his communion. As no other pontiff can claim the title of Pope, so neither could any other than the metropolitan of Bagdad use the distinctive appellation of Catholicos. He was chosen by the metropolitans (of whom there were no less than five-and-twenty), by the bishops and clergy. The heads of some ancient tribes had also a voice in his election. They were honoured with this important privilege, either because of their political importance in the country, or for their having preserved, in all vicissitudes of fortune and government, the Christian faith delivered to their ancestors. On the death of each Catholicos, the supreme power was vested for the time in the bishop of the nearest see, which was that of Cascar, a city built near the site of the ancient Seleucia. It was his duty to call together those in whom the right of election was vested. Even after the patriarchal see was transferred to Bagdad, they continued to meet in the ancient city, and church of Modain; and the synod was presided over by the bishops of Nisibis, Mosul, and Bassora. When the election was peaceable and unanimous, the name of the new Catholicos was announced to the expectant people by the senior metropolitan; and the happy event was celebrated with solemn thanksgiving. If, as frequently happened, the succession was disputed, and no individual could command a sufficient majority of suffrages, they appealed to the decision of providence. The names of the three most popular candidates were placed upon the altar; to these a fourth was added, which was the sacred name of the Redeemer; mass was celebrated to solicit the Divine blessing

and assistance; the names were placed in an urn, and one of the four was drawn out by a child who had not yet forfeited his baptismal innocence. If the name drawn out was that of Christ, it was looked on as a sign that none of the other three was worthy of the dignity, and three new names were substituted. If the lot proved otherwise, the person whose name was drawn, was considered as the elect of heaven. Having received the official record of his canonical election, signed by the surrounding prelates, and having sworn to maintain the rights, and faithfully to execute the duties of his office, he received the episcopal consecration. It is a strange anomaly in their election, and absolutely unheard of in any other sect or community of Christians, that, though he were previously raised to the episcopal dignity, his sacramental consecration was repeated when he was elected patriarch; and, as he was most generally translated from some other see, this sacrilegious iteration of the sacramental character, was committed at almost every election. His appointment had, during the caliphate, to be ratified by the successors of Mahomet. He obtained the full privileges of his office only when he received from their hands the robe and pastoral cap and staff, the usual form of investiture.

Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the Nestorians were an united body, subject to the jurisdiction of one only patriarch, the Catholicos of Bagdad. About that time a remarkable change took place among them. For more than a century the supreme spiritual power had been in the possession of one family. When the ruling prelate died, the dignity was immediately transferred to another, perhaps his nearest relative. The other metropolitans, jealous at being excluded from a place of trust and honour to which they believed themselves entitled, or it may be, grieved at the injurious influence which such a monopoly was likely to exercise on the interests of their religion, resolved on vindicating the freedom of their ancient canonical election. The discontented were many and influential, but they were still only a minority, and the prescription of more than a hundred years was not easily disturbed. There was no power in the East on which they could rely for assistance and support, and they determined to have recourse to the Patriarch of the West, the supreme pastor of Rome. Many of their former and most venerable bishops had applied to him for letters of ecclesiastical communion, and nearly all had acknowledged him the first in dignity of the bishops of the Church. His

name and sanction would give weight to the object of their choice, and determine the legality of his claims. In conformity with their request, and having required and obtained the necessary submission, Julius III gave them a patriarch in the person of Simon Julacha, a monk of the order of Saint Pachomius, and on his death a few days later, he appointed the celebrated Hebedjesu to succeed him in that dignity. This distinguished man, the greatest whom the Nestorian Church has produced, was brought up and educated in their errors, and adhered to them for a considerable part of his life. He was induced, either by curiosity, or more probably by a sincere spirit of religious inquiry, to visit Rome during the pontificate of Julius III, and was there induced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Holy See, and abjure the errors of Nestorius. On the death of Julacha, he was appointed bishop of Soba, and metropolitan of the Nestorian Church in connexion with Rome. His conversion, unlike that of many of his countrymen, was sincere and lasting. He had a perfect mastery of the Syrian tongue, and was intimately acquainted with its literature. Before his conversion he had written in defence of the Nestorian tenets, and he endeavoured as far as in him lay, to repair the errors of his youth, by the zeal and application of his after years. His tongue and pen were ever ready, and often actively employed, in the propagation of Catholicity among the people of his native land. He made a second journey to the Eternal City during the pontificate of Pius IV, to procure a confirmation of his patriarchate, and is said to have been present at the Council of Trent, though we do not find his name among those of the subscribing prelates. He was a man of superior address and ability, and succeeded in bringing over many of his countrymen to the communion of the Latin Church. His immediate successors being inferior to him in these qualities, and being moreover harassed by the jealousy and persecution of the patriarchs of Babylon, were unable to continue the good work so efficiently commenced by him; some of them could only escape the severity of their persecution by fleeing to the mountains of Zeinalbach in the remotest borders of Persia.

Under the pontificate of Pius V, the Catholicos Elias made overtures for an union with the Holy See. We know not what motives, whether of religious conviction or worldly interest, prompted him to the measure; charity would suggest the one, while history would incline us to the other. The abbot Adam bore with him to the pope letters from the Nes-

torian patriarch, and he was commissioned and empowered to explain the sentiments of his bishop on the matters of doctrine that were controverted between them. The profession of faith which he presented to Pius, according to his exposition was declared to be orthodox. In his zeal for an union of the Churches, he interpreted too liberally the terms of his commission, and misunderstood or misrepresented the tenets of his Church.* His explanations were subsequently disavowed, and it was not until our own times that the lineal representative of that name became sincerely and truly a Catholic. The present inheritor of the name was educated in the college of the Propaganda, and is a zealous supporter of Catholic unity. According to the admission of Dr. Grant, he has succeeded in bringing over to the Roman Catholic faith, all the Nestorians of the valley of the Tigris, from Mosul to Bagdad. In the time of Innocent XI, several missions were established among the Nestorians of Diarbekir. They were attended with such success, and had so much increased their converts, that, in a very few years, a new patriarchate was established for their encouragement and advantage. The new prelate, who was the bishop of that city, was known, according to the custom of the country, by the official designation of Joseph, and Amida was chosen for his see. He became the recognized head of the Papal Christians, or Chaldeans, as they began about this time to be called. For, on their conversion, they repudiated the name which would connect them, however remotely, with the errors they had abjured.

We believe that the present ecclesiastical government of the Chaldeans, is vested in the Bishop of Babylon, the Right Rev. Dr. Trioche, who, under the title of "Administrator of Ispahan, and delegate Apostolic to the Chaldean nation," exercises jurisdiction over Mesopotamia, Persia, and part of Arabia. He is the immediate and direct pastor of the Latins, who, in 1840, were computed at 1000 only; but he exercises episcopal authority and apostolic delegation over the converted Nestorians, as well as over the converted Jacobites, or Eutycheans, for, in the Chaldean Churches, their previous differences are merged, and they unite together in the performance of the same liturgy, and as members of the one same spiritual family. For some years, Providence has tried their fidelity by many and severe visitations. They have been subjected

* Strozza, in his work, "*De Ritibus Chaldecorum*," lent but too willing an ear to the representations of Adam, and his work should be read with caution.

to the horrors of civil war; their congregations were decimated by the cholera; and the feeble remnant that war and pestilence had spared, had to encounter the horrors of the famine that was consequent on both. Numbers, in the extremity of despair and terror, fled, with the surviving members of their families, to the mountains; and the fields, that but a few years before were rich with many a luxuriant and golden crop, became lonely and barren as the desert sands. When the storm passed, the Catholics returned with their surviving friends and countrymen, to repair, as far as possible, the ravages which society had sustained; and we have reason to hope, that the fidelity with which, in every disaster and affliction, they have adhered to their faith, and to their pastors, will not be unrewarded. But their loss has been awful indeed. The united Chaldeans were 120,000 in number in the year 1826: in 1840, the apostolic delegate could reckon only the small number of 15,000. There are an hundred families in Bagdad, under the care of three priests. The convent of St. Hormisdas belongs to a religious order numbering already over thirty members, who are especially devoted to the propagation of Catholicity in the neighbouring countries. The Carmelites, and the Dominicans, have also succeeded in establishing themselves in Bagdad; and we cannot omit the zealous and admirable labours of M. Eugene Boré, whose letters have given such information concerning those countries, and whose services to the missions of the Levant, are beyond all praise. He has succeeded in establishing schools in Tauris, at Djoulfa, and Mosul. The latter school contained last year over 400 pupils, of both sexes, and of all creeds; and when visited, last August, by the apostolic delegate, obtained his unqualified approbation.*

Besides the bishop of Babylon, there is another patriarch, who is the recognized head of the schismatical and independent Nestorians. He is known by the official title of the "Simeon" of Julamark. To enlighten him, and to convert

* The sees subject to the bishop of Babylon, with the number of officiating priests, and also the number of families, we give from the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith:"—

FOUR ARCHBISHOPRICS.				FIVE BISHOPRICS.					
	Priests.		Families.		Priests.		Families.		
Diarbekir	...	5	...	81	Mardin	...	4	...	41
Jesireh	...	7	...	240	Seert	...	8	...	190
Mosul	...	18	...	1000	Amadis, Maltaï, & Zachro	17	...	600	
Aderbijan					Salmas	...	8	...	340
					Karkouk	...	15	...	320

his people to the pure religion of the Gospel, was the great object of the American board of commissioners for foreign missions at their meeting of Utica; and, to promote the same laudable object, Dr. Grant and his lady, and Rev. Mr. Holoday, and Mr. William Stocking, with their wives, and the Rev. Welland Jones and his wife, had sailed from the harbour of Boston, and located themselves in the mountains of Koor-distan. Our readers may wish to know what manner of man this right reverend dignitary is. We shall, without further preface, permit our author to introduce them to his lordship:—

“At half-past twelve I found myself in the presence of the patriarch of the East, the spiritual head of the Nestorian Church, who gave me a cordial welcome. He is thirty-eight years of age, above the middle stature, well proportioned, with a pleasant, expressive, and rather intelligent countenance; while his large flowing robes, his Koordish turban, and his long grey beard, give him a patriarchal and venerable aspect, which is heightened by an uniformly dignified demeanour. Were it not for the youthful fire in his eye, and his vigour and activity, I should have thought him nearer fifty than thirty-eight. But his friends assured me that the hoariness of his beard and locks, was that of care, and not of age. His situation is certainly a difficult and responsible one, since he is, in an important sense, the temporal as well as the spiritual head of his people. To preserve harmony, and settle differences between the various tribes of his spirited mountaineers, and with the Khoords by whom they were surrounded, is a labour that would tax the wisdom and patience of the greatest statesman; and I could hardly wonder that the hoar frost of care, was prematurely settling upon his locks. It was quite evident, that the patriarch's anxiety extended not less to the temporal than to the spiritual wants of his flock, as his first inquiries related particularly to their political prospects, the movements in Turkey, the designs of the European powers with regard to these countries,* and why they did not come and break the arm of the Mahomedan power, by which many of his people had been so long oppressed, and for fear of which, the main body of them were shut up in their mountain fastnesses. He is pacific in his disposition, and *he carries his rifle!* in the anticipation of an encounter with the brown bear, the wolf, hyena, or wild boar of the mountains, rather than with the expectation of fighting their enemies, the Khoords. But, while the latter never enter the central parts of the country, they are sometimes brought into collision with them on their borders. Such had recently been the case in Tehoma and Jelu, and, during my visit at the patriarch's, he was called upon

* The visit of the Doctor took place at the time that the Turkish forces had been defeated by Ibrahim at the battle of Koniah.

to decide what should be done with two Khoords, who had been taken by his people, from a tribe that had, some time before, put two Nestorians to death. Blood for blood is still the law, and custom requires that a tribe shall be held accountable for the conduct of each of its members. Hence, it mattered not whether the individuals they had taken were guilty of the murder; it was enough that they belonged to the same tribe, and by right they should die. The patriarch, however, was inclined to mercy, while his people, at the same time, must receive justice. After due deliberation, and investigation of the case, the patriarch at length decided, that, inasmuch as his people had brought the captive Khoords into their own houses, they had in a sense become their guests, and consequently their lives must be spared; but they might accept a ransom from the Khoords, and thus the matter was settled. Of the patriarch's official functions, I shall have occasion to speak in another place. His income is moderate, and he lives in a plain patriarchal style. Two brothers, and a younger sister, about twenty-two years of age, with five or six servants, male and female, comprised his household. As the patriarchs never marry, his domestic affairs were managed by his favourite sister, who supplied our table in the best and neatest style."—p. 75.

We should wish to give from the work of Dr. Grant some extracts descriptive of the condition and manners of the people; but the information he affords is so meagre that we can find scarce a page which contains any new or valuable particulars. Judging from the work before us, he seems to have been sent among them to discover whether they were actually the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel; and of three hundred pages, only ninety are devoted to the "incidents of travel" and the description of the people; the rest is devoted to disputations concerning the manners and customs of the Hebrews, and the predictions of the Apocalypse; and he has no manner of doubt that the Church of Rome is the scarlet lady of Babylon. From the little that remains of interest, after his theological and critical researches, we can discover that the country of the Independent Nestorians is confined to the Upper valley of the Great Zab river. It is surrounded by high and almost inaccessible mountains, covered for some months of the year with snow. To the rugged and uninviting aspect of the country, and its natural strength, they owe their independence, in a greater degree, perhaps, than to the valour of its inhabitants and the impregnable and almost inaccessible walls of their few fortresses. The natives of the country, though professing the same creed and subject to the same spiritual superior, are composed of several tribes, of whom

the most numerous, warlike, and therefore best known, are the Tyarries on the southern border. The Nestorians are surrounded by the Khoords, aliens in blood and religion, on all sides; with whom they wage an almost incessant war. The Ravendooz and Hakkary Khoords are those with whom they have most frequent collisions, and from whose power they have most severely suffered. The latter are secretly encouraged by the Turkish government, to whom the independence, no less than the Christian character of the Nestorians, is an object of suspicion and dislike. Year after year they are deprived of some or other of their strongholds, or at least are compelled to admit Turkish governors within their walls. Thus Julamark, which was independent in 1829, is now in the possession of Nourallah Bey; Asheetah, which belonged to the Nestorians when Dr. Grant visited the country, has since been reduced by Bedr Khan. Dr. Grant thus describes his reception in Duree:—

“As we approached the village of Duree, after a toilsome ride of seven hours over the rough mountain passes, we were hailed by several of the mountain Nestorians from the independent district of Tyary, who demanded who we were, what we wanted, whither going, &c., and the demand was repeated by each successive party we passed, till finally the cry seemed to issue from the very rocks over our head, ‘Who are you?’ ‘Whence do you come?’ ‘What do you want?’ A cry so often repeated in the deep Syrian gutturals of their stentorian voices, was not a little startling; and then their bold bearing, and a certain fierceness of expression and spirit, action and intonation of voice, with the scrutinizing inquiry whether we were Catholics or bad men whom they might rob* (as one inquired of my guide), bereft my poor escort of the little courage which had sustained him thus far; and he manifested so much real alarm that I yielded to his earnest request, and dismissed him as soon as he reached the house of the bishop, who assured me that his presence was no longer desirable. The people soon satisfied themselves of my character and friendly intentions, and finding that I spoke their language, seemed to regard me as one of their own people, and gathered round me in the most friendly manner, but without that familiar sycophancy so common among the Christian subjects of Persian and Turkish dominion. The next day they came from all directions for medical aid. One man

* Only imagine the simplicity of these mountaineers, inquiring of their visitors whether they were fit to be robbed. It is only equalled by the good housewife's invitation to the ducks: “Dill, dill, come and be killed.” We suspect this incident (?) was specially imagined for the edification of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

became quite alarmed at being made so sick by an emetic, but when it was over, such was his relief, that he wanted some more of the same medicine; and others, instead of asking me to prescribe for them, often asked for a "derman d'mortha," or medicine for bile. The bishop, who is a most patriarchal personage, with a long white beard, was very cordial, and took me into his venerable church; a very ancient structure, made by enlarging a natural cave by means of heavy stone walls in front of the precipitous rock. It stood far up on the side of the mountain, and within it was dark as midnight. The attentive old bishop took my hand and guided it to a plain stone cross which lay upon the altar, supposing I would manifest my veneration and devotional feelings after their own custom, by pressing it to their lips. I must confess that there is something affecting in this simple outward expression as practised by the Nestorians, who mingle with it none of the image worship or the other corrupt observances of the Roman Catholic Church. May it not be that the abuse of such symbols by the votaries of the Roman See has carried us Protestants to the other extreme, when we utterly condemn the simple memento of the cross? The old bishop sleeps in his solitary church, so as to be in readiness to attend his devotions before daylight in the morning; and he was much gratified with a present of a box of locofocos, which I gave him to ignite his lamp. A number of beehives, the property of the Church, was kept here, and the honey from them was regarded as peculiarly valuable. It was certainly very fine."—p. 47.

This village is subject to the Turkish government, and is situated in the centre of the iron mines of the district.

"A high range of mountains still separated me from the country of the independent Nestorians. At Mosul I was strongly advised not to venture into their country until I should send and obtain an escort from the Patriarch; but after mature consideration and free consultation with the bishop, I resolved to proceed at once, for by this course I might gain the good will of the Nestorians from the confidence I evinced in them, and also save eight or ten days delay—a consideration of some importance on the eve of winter among these lofty mountains. The bishop volunteered to send an intelligent young Nestorian with me, and two others went to bring back the mules from Lazan, which is the first village of the independent tribe of Tyary. To enable me to secure a footing, where, as I was told, I could neither ride on my mule, nor walk with shoes, so precipitous was the mountain, I exchanged my wide Turkish boots for the bishop's sandals. These were wrought with hair cord in such a manner as to defend the soles of the feet, and enable the wearer to secure a foothold where he might, without such protection, be hurled down the almost perpendicular mountain sides. Thus equipped in native style, I set off on the 18th, at an early hour in the morning, and after a toilsome ascent of an hour and a

half, I found myself at the summit of the mountain, when a scene indescribably grand was spread out before me. The country of the independent Nestorians opened before my enraptured vision like a vast amphitheatre of wild precipitous mountains, broken with deep dark looking defiles and narrow glens, into few of which the eye could penetrate so far as to gain a distinct view of the cheerful smiling villages which have long been the secure abode of the main body of the Nestorian Church. Here was the home of an hundred thousand Christians.

"I was invited to the residence of the chief man of the first village we entered. The house was built after the common style of the country, of stone laid in mud, with a flat terrace roof, having a basement and a second story, with two or three apartments in each. We were seated upon the floor 'in a large upper room,' which serves as the guest chamber and the family room in summer; but it is too open to be comfortable in winter. Food was placed before us in a very large wooden bowl, placed upon the skin of a wild goat or ibex, which was placed upon the carpet with the hair side down, and served as a table and cloth. Bread, made of millet, baked in the manner of our Virginian 'hoecake,' but not so palatable, was laid round the edge of our goatskin table, and a large wooden spoon provided for each one of the party, eight or ten in number, to help himself out of the common dish. The people here less generally eat with their fingers than do those of Persia. Whenever the goatskin was brought forward, I noticed that it contained the fragments of bread left at the previous meals, and was told, on inquiry, that this singular custom was observed in obedience to our Saviour's injunction, 'Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost;' and also that they might retain the blessing which had been pronounced by a priest upon former repasts, because the service being in the ancient language is intelligible only to the clergy, and cannot be properly performed by the laity. The women do not eat with the men, but instead of receiving what they left, as is very common in the east, a separate portion was reserved for the females, and in all respects they were treated with more consideration, and regarded more as companions, than in most Asiatic countries. Two of the young married women in the house came forward in the evening, and in the presence of their husbands joined in our social visit. Each of them at my request gave me a brass ring from her wrist, to show to our American ladies, regarding whose customs they made many inquiries. Like others of their people, they were surprised that our ladies should negotiate their own matrimonial engagements, and that their fathers should give them in marriage without receiving a dowry in payment for their daughters. Grapes, figs, and pomegranates I found among their fruits in the lower villages on the river, where rice is also cultivated, to the great detriment of health. Apples and other northern fruits are found in the higher

villages. Wheat is little cultivated, for want of space. It is brought from Amadiah in exchange for honey and butter."

The following is a description of their observance of the Sunday, and of the liturgical service, at which our author attended:—

"October 20th. Sabbath.—A thin piece of board was struck rapidly with a mallet, to call the villagers to church at the rising of the sun. Each person on entering the church put off his shoes, and testified his reverence for the sanctuary of God by kissing the door-posts or threshold, and passed on to kiss the gospels lying upon the altar, then the cross, and finally the hand of his religious teacher. The church, like all I saw in the mountains, was a very solid stone edifice, with arched roof, and might stand for ages. Others that I saw, had stood for more than fourteen centuries, according to their ancient records. For the narrow door (which would not admit a man without stooping) the usual explanation was given, 'Straight is the gate,' &c.; a truth of which they wished to be reminded when entering the sanctuary. *The prayers and the singing or chanting of the Psalms were all in the ancient Syrian language, and quite unintelligible to the common people*; but one of the priests read a portion of the Gospels and gave the translation into the vulgar Syriac spoken by the Nestorians, and this constituted the preaching. Sometimes the reading is accompanied by some explanations and legendary stories, of which they have many. It was a sacramental occasion, and the bread and wine were consecrated in the sanctuary or holy place of the church, and then brought out by a priest and a deacon, while each member of the church went forward in rotation, and partook of a small piece of the bread from the hand of the priest, who held *a napkin to prevent any particles from falling*, as he put the morsel into the mouth of the communicant, and then he drank off the wine, which was held with great care by the deacon, so that not a drop should be spilled.*

"There was a great stillness and propriety of deportment in the congregation, and all retired without noise or confusion. In passing out, each person received at the door a very thin loaf of bread, rolled together, and inclosing a morsel of meat. This was the love feast of the early Christians. Several of the people then went to the house of the church-steward, and partook of a more substantial, but plain, repast, retiring soon after to their houses, or calling upon their immediate friends. The day was observed with far more propriety than I have seen among other Christians of the East. There was a general stillness throughout the village, such as I have noticed in few places in more favoured lands. There was no noisy merriment; no attention to secular business. Formerly, they are said to have regarded the Sabbath with so much sacredness, as to put to death persons for travelling on that holy

* See ante p. 82.

day. In the evening, many of the people again assembled for worship at the church, and morning and evening prayers are offered there through the whole week. But, unlike what I have seen anywhere else in the East, many of the people say their prayers in their own dwellings, instead of going to church, during the week, and a small wooden cross may be seen hanging from a post, for them to kiss before prayers,—a practice which they regard as a simple expression of love to Christ, and faith in his death and atonement. The cross is not considered, however, in any sense as an object of religious worship.”—p. 55.

So if a Catholic kiss his crucifix, in remembrance of him who died upon the cross for his redemption, it is rank and downright idolatry; but if a Nestorian does so, it is a simple and touching expression of love to Christ, and of faith in his death and atonement. But it was the doctor's interest with his employers to assimilate the Nestorians as much as possible to the Protestants, and hence the admission which he would refuse to truth and justice. How will the popery-hating folk of Boston and New York relish an union with those who would keep the people in darkness, by celebrating the liturgy in an unknown tongue; or who acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist? From the reverence with which the sacrament was administered, and the sedulous care with which they guarded against profanation, it is easy to perceive that they believe something then present beyond the material elements of bread and wine. Believing as they do with Nestorius, that there are two distinct persons in Christ, united only by the uniformity of operation and will, and that the human nature was but “the habit, the veil, the shrine” of the Divinity with which it was combined, they believe also that the Eucharist contains only the human person of Christ; that it becomes, by virtue of the words of consecration, the body and blood which was born of Mary and which died for us upon the cross. However coloured by their own peculiar tenets, they yet admit in the Eucharist as perfect a reality of Christ's presence as any Catholic could wish,* though they do not believe the bread

* The following extracts from the Liturgy, used and sanctioned by the Nestorian Church, are given, among others, by the authors of the “*Perpétuité de la foi*,” in proof of their faith in the reality of Christ's presence. This Liturgy is said to be drawn up by Nestorius himself, and is ascribed to him by Echellensis: “*Seigneur, que la grâce de votre Saint Esprit vienne, demeure, et se repose, sur cette oblation que nous offrons devant vous; qu'elle la sanctifie et fasse ce pain et ce vin, le corps et le sang de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, les changeant et les sanctifiant vous-même par l'assistance de votre Saint Esprit.*”

In one of the prayer of the weekly office of the Nestorians, there occur the

and wine to be changed into the person of God. The following, we believe, will be found rather Popish :—

“The priest of the village often visited us and expressed a lively interest in our plans and efforts for the improvement of the people. He was trying to live a very holy life and had therefore taken a vow, corresponding to that of the Nazarites among the Jews. He ate no meat or animal food of any kind, not even vegetable oils or milk, so that he might feed the soul by starving the body. Such instances are however very uncommon, but as celibacy is a part of the vow, it seems to have superseded the few convents which once existed among this people. Vows of celibacy among the females are known to exist, but the cases are very rare and nunneries quite unknown.”

The condition of literature, biblical, and otherwise, may be inferred from the following :—

“At one village of about an hundred houses on the side of the mountain, there were said to be no less than forty men who could read, which was regarded as a remarkably large proportion for a population of a thousand or more souls. Probably but a small portion of them can read intelligibly the ancient Syriac, their only written language. At Asheeta I became the guest of the priest Abraham, who is reputed the most learned Nestorian now living.* He has spent twenty years of his life in writing and in reading books, and has done much to supply the waste of, if not to replenish, the Nestorian literature. But even he had not an entire bible ; and though the Nestorians have preserved the scriptures in manuscript with great care and purity, so scarce are the copies, that I have found but a single Nestorian, and that one their Patriarch, who possessed an entire bible, and even that was in half a dozen different volumes, thus divided ; one man has the Gospels, another the Epistles, the Psalms, the Pentateuch, or the Prophets. Portions of the scriptures are also contained in the Church Liturgy or ritual. The book of Revelation and two or three of the shorter epistles they did not possess till furnished with them by our Mission, and these portions of the Bible appear not to have reached them when their canon was made, but they received

following words, “Dans le moment que le prêtre monte au Sanctuaire, les armées d'esprits bien-heureux se tiennent au dessus de lui, et regardent le prêtre qui rompt et divise le corps de Jésus Christ pour la remission des péchés.”

And again. “Tous nous autres fidèles allons et confessons avec une joie spirituelle, sans aucune doute que nous voyons sur le saint autel l'Agneau de Dieu, qui est tous les jours sacrifié sacramentalement, quoiqu'il soit vivant à l'éternité, et qui est distribué à tout le monde, et n'est point consumé ou distribué.”

* This most learned Nestorian, if the Doctor is to be believed, knew nothing of the existence of printing until the Doctor himself informed him.

them on the testimony of other Christian nations (viz., Dr. Grant and Co.), and on the internal evidence of their authenticity.

The statement here about the defect of the Nestorian canon of the Scriptures, is contradicted by Assemani in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iv. p. 236. The books said to be wanting are enumerated, with the others, by Hebed Jesu, in his list of their canonical Scriptures, as well as some others, with which the Mission of Ooroomiah could not supply them, such as Esther, Tobias, Ecclesiasticus.* If their canon be faulty, it is in excess. And hence the sentence about "internal evidence," is the merest cant. We wonder what internal evidence of authenticity they discovered in the gospel called of Titian, which they have added to the catalogue. We shall conclude the extracts, descriptive of the Nestorians, by the following, which, coming from a Protestant and a missionary, will be found to contain an admission which is the more remarkable for being made with reluctance. First with respect to Mosul and its vicinity.

"The Nestorians, who once inhabited this district, *have all embraced the Romish faith and become Chaldeans*, as the papal Nestorians are usually called. They mostly inhabit the villages on the east of the Tigris; and Elkösh, with its convent of Rabban Hormuz, is the chief seat of their influence. Their Patriarch resides at Bagdad, where there are but few of their people. He was educated at the Propaganda in Rome, and is a zealous supporter of his holiness the Pope. He receives his appointment directly from Rome, and is in no way connected with the Nestorian Church. The lineal descendants of the patriarch Elias of Elkösh, are all connected with the Church of Rome; and the last pretender to that seat is now a Bishop of the Papal Chaldean Church."

Secondly, with respect to the independent tribes:—

"The Nestorian priest lamented the low state to which their church had been reduced, and said he feared that the people in their gross ignorance would fall a sacrifice to the wiles of the Papists, who, he had been told, were about to make more vigorous efforts than ever, to convert the whole of his people to Romanism. The Papists in Mesopotamia have assured me that no effort will be spared to convert the whole of the Nestorian Church to their faith, and this report is confirmed by letters since received from Bagdad, one of which says that the bishops and priests educated at the Propaganda, were 'about going to Mosul, to hold a convention to devise means to bring over all the Nestorians to the Romish faith.' There must be a final struggle with the 'man of sin,' and it must be boldly

* See Rev. Dr. Walsh's Residence in Constantinople in 1829, vol. ii. p. 411.

and promptly met. With God and truth on our side we have nothing to fear, if the Church will *come up!* to her duty. Hitherto they have prevented the emissaries of Rome from entering their mountains. But the latter are looking with eagerness to this interesting field; and while they are extending their labours in the East, no effort will be spared to spread their influence among the mountain tribes. Will Protestant Christians, to whom the Nestorians are stretching out their hands for help, suffer the golden harvest to fall into the garner of the Pope?"—pp. 43, 44.

Thanks to those great and good men to whom the missions of the Levant are confided, it must, and with the divine assistance, shall. The harvest is indeed ripe for the sickle. It is impossible, we think, to contemplate the progress of events in the East, without being persuaded that Providence is arranging all things for the best and wisest ends. The independence of these mountain tribes, which proved the great and primary obstacle to their conversion, has already fallen. The mountain chain, which for centuries had preserved them from the evils of Turkish rule, has already yielded to its persevering hostility; and it is probable that at the very hour we write this page, the liberty and the independence of the Nestorians have been extinguished for ever. The instrument of their subjugation, and their most determined enemy, is the individual described in the following and the last extract we shall take from our author's pages. We have already stated that they are hemmed in from the north by the Hakkary Khoords, and here is the portrait of their chief, Nourallah Bey.

"Our last repast was finished, the parting embrace was given, and I set off towards the residence of Nourallah Bey, the famous chief of the independent Hakkary Khoords. He had removed from his castle at Julamerk, the capital, and was now living at the castle of Bash-Kalleh, nearly two days' journey from the residence of the Patriarch. A report that robbers were on the road, occasioned some alarm as I pursued my way along the banks of the Zab; but no robbers made their appearance, and I passed on without molestation to the strongly fortified castle of the chief, which was distinctly visible, long before we reached it, from the mountain spur on which it rests. Most unexpectedly, I found the chief upon a sick bed. He had taken a violent cold about three days before my arrival, which had brought on inflammation and fever. I gave him medicine and bled him, and then retired to my lodgings in the town, at the foot of the mountain on which the castle is built. In the evening the chief sent down word that he was very sick, and he desired that I should do something to relieve him immediately.

I sent him word by his messenger, that he must have patience, and wait the effects of the medicines I had given him. About midnight the messenger came again, saying that the chief was still very ill, and wished to see me. I obeyed the call promptly, following the long winding pathway that led up to the castle. The sentinels upon the ramparts were sounding the war-cry, in the rough tones of their native Khoordish. We entered the outer court through wide iron-cased folding doors. A second iron door opened into a long dark alley, which conducted to the room where the chief was lying. It was evident that he was becoming impatient, and, as I looked upon the swords, pistols, guns, spears, and daggers,—the ordinary furniture of a Khoordish castle—which hung around the walls of the room, I could not but think of the fate of the unfortunate Shultz,* who had fallen, as it is said, by the orders of this sanguinary chief. He had the power of life and death in his hands: I knew I was entirely at his mercy. I told the chief, it was apparent that the means I had used were producing a good effect, though he needed more powerful medicine, which, for a time, would make him worse instead of better; that I could administer palliatives, but, if he confided to my judgment, he would take the more severe course. He consented, and I gave him an emetic, which he promptly swallowed, after he had made some of his attendants taste the nauseating dose, to see if it was good. I remained with him during the night, and the next morning he was much relieved. He rapidly recovered, and said he owed his life to my care. I became his greatest favourite. I must sit by his side, and dip my hand in the same dish with himself. I must remain with him, or speedily return and take up my abode in his country, where he assured me I should have every thing as I pleased. As I could not remain, I must leave him some of the emetics which had effected his cure. He is a man of noble bearing, fine, open countenance, and appeared to be about thirty years of age. He was very affable, and, on my departure, made me a present of a horse, as an expression of his gratitude for the restoration of his health."—p. 82.

It would be well for the Nestorians, if the doctor had not been so successful. At the time when this event occurred, he was meditating the destruction of their independence, by seeking to bring them into subjection to his own authority. Knowing that the Turkish government were anxious to extend their dominion over these mountains, he formed an alliance with the pashas of Erzeroum and Van. He also succeeded in attaching to his interest several "meliks," or chiefs of Nestorian tribes, by rewarding them with the plunder of the

* A traveller who was murdered by these people a year or two before.

churches and monasteries. Two years ago he attacked the patriarch (whom he found the principal obstacle to his designs), burnt his house, and killed four of his family; but the Simeon himself had the good fortune to escape into the country, and placed himself under the protection of the Tyaries, who were a powerful tribe of his own people. Nourallah, thus defeated in his plans, spared no effort to get the patriarch into his power. He pretended the utmost sympathy and compassion for his misfortunes, sent several messages of friendship, and expressed a wish to be on terms of mutual acquaintance. But the wiles of the artful chieftain were in vain. The patriarch, probably by the advice of his friends, spurned the proffered friendship; and the Khoordish chief prepared for war. He entered into negotiation with Bedr Khan Bey, the Turkish governor of Jezireh, and, in concert with him, made a joint attack on the country of the Nestorians. They invaded the districts of Tyary and Dez, and, having brutally massacred great numbers of the population, got and retained possession of Asheetah, one of their strongest fortresses, which, at the period of Dr. Grant's visit, was considered impregnable. The governor placed in command of this stronghold, Tiner Bey, one of his own officers, who ruled the unfortunate Nestorians with a rod of iron, and who, in a very few months, succeeded in provoking them into insurrection. It was the interest, and perhaps the injunction, of his master to do so. The revolt was encouraged by several Khoordish chiefs; and even the patriarch was persuaded that Nourallah Bey himself, jealous of the power which he had been instrumental in procuring for the governor of Jezireh, and, therefore, repenting of what he had already done, was not unwilling that they should succeed. This change of feeling seemed probable, from the fact that one of their Khoordish friends was of the party of Nourallah Bey, and would not, in all likelihood, have acted without his permission. Encouraged by these considerations, the Nestorians made an attack on Asheetah, in which Tiner Bey was wounded, and twenty of his men were killed. Notwithstanding his defeat and wound, he succeeded in reaching the castle, in which he was immediately besieged by his victorious enemies. After a siege of six days, he was compelled by want of water to offer terms of submission. During the progress of the negotiation, the Turks succeeded by some means in procuring water, and immediately turned out the envoy with whom they were in the act of treating, and bade defiance to the Nestorians. The latter were in daily expectation of receiving the succours promised by the

Khoordish chiefs, and again renewed the blockade, in the hope of compelling it to surrender. While their attention was directed to this object, they were surprised by a detachment sent to relieve the fortress. A sortie of the garrison completed the disaster, and the unfortunate besiegers, hemmed in on all sides, were literally cut to pieces. It is said that two bags full of human ears were sent to Mosul, in order that the barbarous chief might assure himself, by such a convincing testimony, of the reality and greatness of the victory which his soldiers had won. This was in October 1843. A few days after this disaster, a party, seventy-eight in number, fell into an ambush prepared for them by the commander of Asheetah, the same sanguinary Tiner Bey, and only two escaped. To complete their disasters, Melik Barkho, the most distinguished warrior of the Tyaries, and their own only surviving head, was assassinated by a Mollah connected with the emir of Nerwaii, one of the chiefs who had instigated them to revolt. How similar are these events to those which we have been accustomed to read in our own unfortunate country. Substitute Irish for Nestorian, the Irish deputy for Bedr Khan, the name of Inchiquin for that of the Khoordish chief, and, word for word, the history will nearly hold good. Disheartened by these reverses, and deprived of his firmest friends, the patriarch was compelled to abandon his mountain strongholds; and, in the close of November, he, with two Nestorian priests and their families, took refuge with the British consul, and placed themselves under his protection at Mosul.*

It was the apprehension of such calamities, and the necessity of providing himself with some external protection, that led the patriarch to court the favour of the American missionaries. His motive was political and not religious. The Catholic missionaries, at Bagdad, having heard of the favourable reception given by him to the doctor and his colleague sent some members of their body to counteract their seductive influence. These had several interviews with the Simeon, and he solemnly promised, in a full meeting, that when the fitting time arrived, he would embrace the Catholic religion; but he afterwards sought evasions, when he was reminded of the promise he had made. It is more than probable, that he is influenced principally by motives of worldly interest, and

* Since writing the above, we have seen in the *Times* a correspondence, dated the 21st February, from Constantinople, which describes the massacres of the wretched Nestorians, as being still continued with circumstances of unmitigated atrocity.

a desire to uphold the tottering independence of his people. A drowning man will catch at a straw; and it must be the conviction of utter helplessness and insecurity—it may be of immediate personal danger—that could make the Nestorian patriarch court the favour, or countenance the ministry of an American missionary doctor.

In speaking of the diffusion of the Nestorian doctrines, among the people of Asia, we made no mention of the churches of Malabar. We omitted them in our enumeration, because they deserved a more than incidental allusion. The tenets of the Nestorians found their way at a very early period into the Indian Peninsula; so early, indeed, that it is scarcely possible to assign the period with any degree of certainty. It was a tradition, as fondly cherished, as it was believed to be highly probable, that this country was blessed by the presence and preaching of the apostle St. Thomas; and even the place where the remains of the martyred disciple of the Redeemer are said to be interred is now pointed out near the present city of Madras. It has been honoured by the veneration, and visited by the piety of many a generation of believers. The *Saxon Chronicle* and William of Malmsbury relate, that in the ninth century it was visited by the ambassadors of Alfred. When the Portuguese, pursuing the path of discovery opened by Vasco de Gama, reached the coast of Malabar, they were surprised and delighted to find in these remote regions, which they fancied the Gospel had never visited, a people professing a religion similar to their own. These differed in complexion, manners, and language from the darker and effeminate natives of Hindostan; and, though nominally subject to one of the petty Rajahs of the country, they were governed by their own laws and institutions, and yielded obedience in spiritual matters to the Archbishop of Angamale, who exercised jurisdiction over one thousand four hundred churches, and two hundred thousand souls. According to their own traditions, they were all descended from an Armenian merchant called Mar Thomas, who, about the tenth century, or it may be earlier, established himself on this coast. Here, separated for centuries from the Christian communities of the North and West, and rarely communicating with the Patriarch of Babylon, their nominal head, they increased and multiplied, and lived almost independent and unknown. They were Jacobite and Nestorian as the ordinary of Angamale was disposed; if, indeed, their ignorance permitted them to draw a distinction between the two. The language of their liturgy was the same Syriac tongue

employed in the Church of Babylon, and equally unintelligible to the great mass of the people. The first lesson of Catholic truth they received was from the lips of the sainted Xavier and those who were associated with him in his apostolic labours. The numerous converts made by them embraced the Latin rite, and Pope Paul IV erected in their favour the episcopal see of Cochin, the right of presentation to which was vested in the crown of Portugal. It is said, however, that the conditions on which this right was granted were never executed. Albuquerque, the first bishop of Goa, directed his attention in a particular manner to the enlightenment of this neglected people; and in 1546 endowed a college at Cranganor for the instruction of the youth in the doctrines of the Latin Church. Some years of experience convinced the Jesuits, to whom it was entrusted, that without a knowledge of the Chaldean or Syriac tongue, any education would be of no avail; but even with this advantage, their pupils were objects of suspicion, and therefore their ministry was unprofitable. The very observance of the Latin rite, which they learned in the schools of the Jesuits, was sufficient to exclude them from the Nestorian churches, and therefore from the reverence of the people. A bolder and a more vigorous step was wanting, and was made by Alexis de Menezes, the second successor of Albuquerque, in the see of Goa. This remarkable man was born at Braga in 1559, and took the habit of a religious in the order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine. He was made bishop of Goa by Philip the Second; and in his official capacity performed the canonical visitation of the Churches of the coast of Malabar. In the year 1596, he held a synod at Diamper, at which the Latin and Nestorian bishops attended; and in which, after the lapse of a thousand years, and at the other extremity of the Asiatic Continent, the tenets of the Byzantine pontiff were again condemned, and the Nestorian Churches formally reconciled to the see of Rome. Their liturgy was remodelled, and in its altered form and original language continued to be observed. The Jesuits and other religious were present on this occasion, and took an important part in the proceedings. The original liturgy has been published, and it does not seem to differ in any essential particulars from some of the older liturgies of the Church. Several of the words seem to lean towards the distinctive opinions of their sect, and were altered by Menezes. They have been charged with using salt and oil in the preparation of the Eucharistic bread; but they themselves declare that the salt is used in no larger

quantity than is generally employed in the seasoning of bread, and that the oil is applied in its preparation, lest the dough should adhere too firmly to the hand. After the reunion of the Churches, Menezes was transferred from Goa to the bishopric of Braga in his native land. He was made viceroy of Portugal by Philip the Second, and died respected and beloved by the nation over which he presided, and the order of which he was so illustrious a member.

The bishop of Angamale proved the sincerity of his conversion by persevering and dying in the creed which he embraced. On his death, Pope Paul V suppressed that see, and erected the new bishopric of Cranganor, at that time a considerable maritime city of the Portuguese, five miles north of Cochin. It was prudent to sever as much as possible the schismatical associations of the people, and wean them from the see which had for so many years been to them the mother and the source of error. The new prelate was to follow the Latin rite, and exercise jurisdiction over all the Syrian churches of Malabar. The title still remains, though the city has long since crumbled into ruins. Some of the Nestorian churches never sincerely adhered to the Synod of Diamper. Feelings of discontent soon spread among them, and in the year 1653, after near sixty years of union, they rebelled against the bishop of Cranganor, rejected the ordinances of the synod, and having applied for and obtained a bishop from the Nestorian Catholicos of Babylon, they returned once more to their former errors. Four hundred families were all that adhered to the Latin prelate, besides the eleven parishes of the Latin rite over which he presided.

The conduct of the Portuguese was but ill adapted to attach the Nestorian churches to the faith which they had embraced and so soon abandoned. Those who have read the admirable life of St. Francis Xavier, by Bouhours, will recollect the scenes of undisguised profligacy, which drew tears from the saintly missionary, and called for the warmest exertions of his zeal. Judging from their religion, as it was presented to them, embodied in their lives, it was but little suited to command respect or veneration. It may have been, too, that the political measures adopted for their conversion grated too harshly on their prejudices and their preconceived opinions. The influence of the Dutch completed what bad example and misrule had begun. These had already begun to follow up the track of Portuguese commerce and enterprise, and in many places to gain possession of the territories which the declining power of Portugal was unable to maintain. The

political interests of this mercenary people were promoted, and their bigotry gratified, by detaching the Nestorians from their allegiance to the Pope. What could the cause of Catholicity hope from the sordid avarice of these money-making merchants, who have undermined the power and impeded the progress of the Gospel wherever the spirit of their commerce has penetrated; who have brought religion into disfavour in China, and extinguished it in Japan; and whose path to the temple of mammon is strewn by the image of their crucified Redeemer, over which (to their honour be it spoken) no other trade but their own has ever been unchristian enough to trample? When they got possession of the coast of Malabar, they destroyed almost every church within their dominion, and banished every Portuguese from the country. If the native Christians were to be brought back to the true fold, common prudence would dissuade from the employment of Portuguese missionaries for the purpose. Indeed such was the rigour of the Dutch, that they would not be tolerated in the country. Seven years before their invasion and conquest of Cochin, Pope Alexander VII sent four Italian Carmelites from Rome, through whose exertions, in less than two years, the clergy of forty parishes were reclaimed, and with them many thousand schismatics. In 1659, one of their body, Father Joseph St. Mary, was made bishop of Hieropolis, and vicar apostolic of Malabar, and succeeded in converting nearly two-thirds of the entire body. During the dispersion of the Catholics, consequent on the change of government, and the absence of their legitimate pastors, the congregations had to be consigned to the superintendence of the native clergy, who, whether from early prejudices or natural incapacity, were in almost every instance unequal to the duties of their position. To remedy these evils, the Roman Propaganda had recourse to the mediation of the emperor Leopold I., and through his agency obtained, in 1698, permission from the Dutch Government for the residence of an European bishop within their settlements. He was to be accompanied by twelve missionaries of the order of the discalced Carmelites, and who were to be natives either of Germany, Italy, or Belgium. Availing himself of this privilege, Innocent XII ordained that thenceforward the vicars of Malabar should be taken from that body; and in the month of February of that year promoted one of them bishop of Metellopolis, and vicar apostolic of the Indian mission.

It was at this period, and consequent on this appointment, that the internal dissensions had their origin, which for one

hundred and forty years have shed their baneful influence over the prospects of that once flourishing and still interesting mission. The Portuguese bishops of Cochin and Cranganore, though powerless for the spiritual welfare of the people, were yet offended at this interference with their prerogative, and their complaints were supported by the voice and authority of their metropolitan, the Archbishop of Goa. It is not our immediate province here to enter into the detail of the many discussions and protests, and arrangements and compromises, which were no sooner entered into than broken, which marked the history of these churches from their first disagreement until their present lamentable state of confirmed schism.* We know that it has retarded not only the conversion of the heathen, but also the reunion of our Nestorian brethren. The precise number of schismatical Nestorians in the Indian peninsula it is not easy to ascertain. Those who have the best means of information, compute them at forty churches, scattered here and there, and especially in the neighbourhood of the mountains. In 1838, the Catholic Nestorians who admitted the authority of the Vicar Apostolic were estimated at 32,000, and were distributed in forty-two parishes. The subjects of the bishop of Cranganor, in sixty-two parishes, amounted to about 76,000 souls.

In considering the past and present condition of the churches of the Nestorian creed, how strong and convincing is the proof they furnish of the divine origin, and also the divine sustainment of that Church Catholic from which they separated so many centuries ago, and to which they seem, in these our times, after a long, and weary, and wayward course, returning. Nestorianism had a succession of pontiffs seemingly apostolic, it had a Catholicity seemingly universal, when its rite, and liturgy, and doctrines spread from the Indian to the frozen sea, and from the Isle of Cyprus to the frontier of Japan; yet we see that once mighty edifice crumbling into ruins, because it was the work of man. The winds blow, and the rains fall, and the sands upon which it was built are giving way beneath it; and yet a few years, and some future voyager on the stream of time will seek, and seek in vain, the place where once it stood. It is not so with that Church which is built on the rock of Peter, and whose foundation the right hand of the Lord has laid—the pillar and the ground

* Those who wish for information on this subject should consult the very able article on the sacred geography of India, in the second volume of the "Annals of the Propagation of the Faith." It is from the pen of the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar.

of truth—the mother and the mistress of all the Churches—which, unchangeable and indestructible, existed before it, resisted its commencement, disputed its progress, and is now receiving within its walls, with joy and welcome, those who have so long been estranged from her communion. What a fearful lesson, too, is inculcated on each in his own sphere of duty, of the mighty and enduring power of error. Here is a pernicious error, originating perhaps in ignorance or mistaken zeal, persevered in and propagated through pride and obstinacy, preserved by a thousand unseen and unnoticed channels to remote times, and transmitted to distant lands and peoples; and which is now, after fourteen hundred years, only slowly, though we should hope certainly, yielding to the power of religious truth and obedience. What a lesson, too, for those too sanguine individuals, who remembering the high hopes which were inspired by recent extraordinary religious revolutions, have now fallen back in despair, because they find that the Anglican establishment has not already run its course, and decayed and withered away like a weed which the summer sun has nourished into luxuriance. With such an example as the Nestorian churches before us, to which God in the unsearchable ways of his providence has permitted a career of over fourteen hundred years, we cannot expect (however we may anxiously hope for its accomplishment) that a form of error, sustained by the power of an empire on which the sun of heaven never sets, a wealth seemingly inexhaustible, a literature and a press second to none other in Europe, is so soon to disappear from the face of God's earth, and leave not a trace behind. We believe that a stern and arduous struggle is before us—how long we know not—perhaps of a few years, perhaps to be continued for ages and generations yet to come; but assuredly to be gained by perseverance, by labour, by zeal; by prayer, by an humble distrust of ourselves and confidence in him whose power is to break down the gates of his enemies. With such means and such aid the battle will be won. But when? Let us hope and humbly trust, and pray earnestly that the days may indeed be shortened; that the time of mercy be not indefinitely deferred, in chastisement of worldly mindedness and pride, till our generation shall long be forgotten, perhaps till the empire and language of Britain shall have passed away, and its sceptre shall be wielded by other hands.

ART. VI.—*Tracts Relating to Ireland*. Vol. II. "A Statute of the 40th Edw. III, in a Parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1361; now first printed, with a translation and notes by James Hardiman, M.R.I.A."

IF a nation's knowledge of her own history and resources be as powerful a principle in politics as the knowledge of oneself is in morals, Ireland must soon grow too strong for her enemies. During the past year, she learned more from prose, from verse, from burning tongue, and, better than all, from combined and energetic action, than in an equal time was ever learned by any nation in the world. The Repeal card itself is a comprehensive summary of comparative statistics, exhibiting Ireland in humiliating contrast with other nations of Europe, far inferior to her in all the elements of national wealth and greatness. The truth of this bitter lesson of national misery and degradation is universally felt; and when we reflect that the Repeal card is almost as common as the shamrock, that under the dripping roofs of two or three hundred thousand cottages it is explained for emaciated fathers by their ragged and hungry sons, some faint idea may be formed of that sort of political education which has lately been popularised among the Irish millions.

This political self-knowledge is not confined to contemporary concerns and events. The Irish press teems with histories and with reprints of histories. Pagan Ireland and Christian Ireland, Anglo-Norman Ireland, and, above all, Ireland independent and Ireland united; Ireland, in all the strange turns of her wayward fate, appears to attract at this moment intense and very general observation. No wise minister, solicitous for the permanent stability of the British empire, can behold without deep concern these indications of a national spirit rising among a temperate, sensitive, and intelligent people; a spirit which broods over the accumulated wrongs of past centuries, as well as over the unredressed and palpable grievances of the present, and which, if not soothed by concession, must speedily beget in Ireland, towards her garrison, such an inveterate alienation as the fullest measure of tardy justice cannot mitigate or subdue.

These preliminary observations are not designed to implicate the Irish Archaeological Society in the popular movement of the national mind. The decided conservative politics of the majority of the members are well known, but the society itself has no political hue. It is a literary body, established

for a national object, and though, from the confined circulation of its works, its influence cannot be very extensive, it is cheering, while the millions are circulating popular histories, to behold the noble and the learned of our land, of every political and religious denomination, associated to rescue Irish historical documents from inevitable ruin. Perhaps we should rather feel humbled on making such a society a subject of congratulation; for in what other country but Ireland is it surprising to find hostile politicians uniting as friendly archæologists? Still, judging from the past, we should be almost compelled to fear that Ireland could have no archæology; that time had no tranquillizing power at this side of the Irish channel, and that the hot flame of political passion would burst forth as fiercely beneath the antiquarian's step, from the ruins of the past, as from the hostile collision of existing parties. Brighter days have arrived, and though the Archæological Society's number cannot exceed five hundred, and had not attained more than three hundred and fifty on the return of the reports for June 1843, an acquaintance with its objects and publications will, we trust, secure a support commensurate with its national importance.

The idea of establishing a society for the publication of the ancient historical and literary remains of Ireland, was first seriously entertained at the close of the year 1840. A provisional council was formed, which received, early in 1841, promises of such respectable support, that a meeting was called in May to proceed to the regular formation of the society, and draw up its fundamental laws. Before the meeting, on the 13th of June 1842, two hundred and forty-one members had been enrolled, which number was increased the following year to nearly three hundred and fifty, partly by circulars issued by the council, inviting such persons as they thought likely to take an interest in the design, to join the society, and partly by the exertion of individual members among their own friends. Thus the society has been slowly but steadily advancing to its prescribed limit of five hundred members; a limit which we believe did not originate in any spirit of exclusiveness, but in the argument set forth in the following extract from the report of the provisional council, on the 3d of May 1841:—

“The rule which prohibits the sale of our books to the public, and confines their circulation to our own members, has been adopted after the most mature consideration, and from a conviction of its expediency, grounded on the experience of other similar societies.

The object of this society is not to publish works of amusement or entertainment to suit the popular taste, but to rescue from oblivion, and to preserve for future historians and philologists, such ancient documents as could never otherwise, perhaps, have found a publisher; and yet to the scholar, and for the interests of learning, and even as supplying the materials for those more popular works which may hereafter perhaps be founded upon them, it is most important that such documents should be printed, although in themselves they contain nothing to induce a bookseller, with any prospect of profit or remuneration, to undertake their publication. Now, if such works are, from time to time, printed by this society, along with others of a more popular and generally attractive character, and if all the publications of the society be offered for sale to the world, it is obvious that many will be induced to abstain from becoming members, on the ground that they can procure such of the society's publications as are of any interest to them, without being compelled to take those which are of a heavier and graver cast; and thus the income of the society will be diminished, and its power of publishing the less popular and more important publications materially limited."

This extract both explains why the number of members is limited, and shows the nature and importance of those historical documents of our laws, language, and poetry, which the society purposes to preserve. From want of funds, the more important works have not yet been undertaken, but one of the very first acts of the society was to put into the hands of Mr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry, two scholars preeminently qualified for the task, the celebrated glossary of Cormac Mac Cuillinan, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel, who flourished at the end of the ninth century. This glossary is not merely a curious repertory of ancient Irish, it must moreover be of incalculable value in the publication of our Brehon laws, and of other difficult remains of the ancient literature of Ireland.

But though the society has not yet realized the principal objects of its institution, it has already supplied its members with several specimens of the lighter works, with which, from time to time, it will relieve its more important labours. The volumes already published are in different languages and of different ages. We have them in French, in English, in Latin, and in Irish. The first volume for 1841 contained a curious description of Ireland, by an English settler named Payne, who had obtained from Elizabeth a grant of land in the county Cork, and who wrote apparently with the view to induce others of his countrymen to embark their capital in a similar speculation. The tract is an in-

teresting exposition of Payne's views on the commercial and agricultural value of Ireland, and on the character of her inhabitants. In the same volume for 1841, there is an Irish poem, written in the year 942, describing a journey of Muirheartach, prince of Aileach, who took hostages from the Irish chiefs, in order to secure his succession to the Irish throne, of which he was heir apparent. The poem is accompanied by a translation and notes, in which a mass of information, historical and especially topographical, the greater part of which was never before published, has been collected by the industry and learning of the editor, Mr. O'Donovan. In an annexed map of Ireland, the names of the districts and places mentioned in the poem are given, forming what may be considered a very correct representation of the geographical state of this country in the middle of the tenth century. The *Battle of Magh Ragh*, a large volume of three hundred and seventy pages, is another Irish work edited for the society by Mr. O'Donovan. It is an historical tale, and may be taken as a genuine and interesting specimen of those ancient Irish romantic compositions which were constantly recited by the poets before Irish kings in their public assemblies, and which were so long the terror and the victims of the English settlers and the parliaments of the pale. These two Irish publications, though more inviting to the general reader, are not so valuable to the historian as another Irish tract, the *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*. It supplies a capital defect of almost all our historians and printed documents, which too generally do not suggest any of those details of private life and manners that enable the reader to reconstruct in imagination the old framework of Irish society, and live over again the scenes and events described.

Of the Latin historical documents of Irish history, two are already published, viz., the *Annals of Multifernam*, and the *Annals of Ireland*, by James Grace, of Kilkenny. The latter is an interesting document, accompanied by very copious and most valuable notes, taken generally from sources inaccessible to the ordinary reader. The work itself is of a character totally different from the Irish works above-mentioned. It breathes the spirit of the Anglo-Norman colonists, of whom the author was descended. It is confined almost exclusively to the affairs of the English pale, and rarely gives a glimpse of the native Irish, except in the background, or lying dead on the battle-field. In the same volume with the "Statute of Kilkenny," to which we shall immediately give particular

notice, there is a "Treatise on Ireland," by John Dymmok, giving most minute and interesting historical details on that momentous crisis of Irish history—the close of Elizabeth's reign and the termination of the war against O'Donnell and Tyrone.

This brief notice may give our readers some idea of the variety and value of those historical treasures which the Archæological Society was established to preserve. But even a passing inspection of some of the publications, shows that the numerous notes gathered by the industry of the editors, from unprinted rolls, records, and state papers, are scarcely inferior in value to the original document itself. Much of the efficiency of the society must depend on the spirit and extent of this editorial research. What that spirit shall be, appears from the following:—

"The Council have also resolved upon getting an ornamented initial letter engraved for every Irish tract or work printed by the society, to be taken from some remarkable Irish manuscript; and they hope by this means to collect some valuable specimens of ancient Irish calligraphy, which cannot fail to prove interesting to the members of the society, and which may also, perhaps, assist in removing the prejudice or scepticism that has unreasonably prevailed on the subject of the ancient literature of Ireland; a prejudice which is founded chiefly, if not entirely, upon ignorance, and which cannot better be assailed than by laying before the learned public, specimens of what Irish artists of the middle ages really did effect; since it must be evident that a people whose literary remains are adorned with such exquisite designs of penmanship, could hardly have been the rude and ignorant barbarians it has hitherto been the fashion to represent them."

Trusting that these general remarks on the objects, the spirit, and the published labours of the society, may have the effect of exciting in those who might be inclined to fill up its ranks, a desire to satisfy themselves, by personal inspection, that the enterprise is eminently deserving of support, we proceed without further delay to the *Statute of Kilkenny*. That extraordinary monument of Anglo-Irish legislation has, for many reasons, powerful claims on our particular attention. It is edited by Mr. Hardiman, the learned and patriotic author of the *History of Galway*, and still more favourably known to the Irish public by his invaluable and truly national collection of the relics of *Irish Minstrelsy*. We know that many persons were deterred from subscribing to the Archæological Society by the fear, the very natural fear, that the politics, perhaps the religious prejudices, of the majority of its mem-

bers might influence both the selection of the works intended for publication, and the character of the notes and illustrations. The old record or tract, which to high Conservative prelates and Tory lords might appear worthy of the beautiful type, the superfine paper, and the shamrock-edged binding of the society, would, in the opinion of the liberal gentlemen and of the twenty or thirty priests, who are members, deserve, perhaps, to be left mouldering on its dusty shelf. Apprehensions of this kind were but too natural, when we consider the temper in which Irish history was studied and written generally, by the ascendancy party in Ireland. But these apprehensions must disappear, if the society continue to act in that spirit which has hitherto characterized its publications; for, with scarcely a single exception,* there is no trace of party bias or prejudice. Mr. Hardiman's invaluable notes to the *Statute of Kilkenny* breathe the same spirit of impartial truth, the same ardent love of his native land, which inspire his *Minstrelsy*, and which become the character of a Catholic gentleman, unlocking the historical treasures of our common country for a society composed of warring politics and of different religious persuasions.

Besides the claims of its editor, the *Statute of Kilkenny* has intrinsic claims on our attention. It discloses fully the situation of the English colony in Ireland, the relations between the native Irish and the Anglo-Norman settlers, and of both with the English government. It places before our eyes, both by its own express provisions and by the collateral evidence collected by the editor, the civil, social, commercial, military, and religious state of Ireland in 1367. Such a statute has, even at the present day, a most painful interest. Even now, five centuries after its promulgation, it gives to our statesmen and rulers not merely those general lessons which history teaches of the pernicious effects of bad laws, but a special lesson, applicable not only in its principles, but even in its details, to the present position of our country. For what was the statute of Kilkenny, but an attempt to make Ireland stand upon her smaller end; to legislate, as if by legal construction there existed no native Irish, or as if they existed only for the benefit of the colonists? But above all, it is a monument of that uncompromising exclusive spirit that drove the Britons,

* In p. xvii. of the preface to the "Battle of Magh Rath," there is much truth, but in the seventeenth line the antithesis between "the real incidents of life" and "supernatural events," is expressed too vaguely.

with their language and customs, into the mountains of Wales, that swept the red man of America to the Western Ocean, and that here in Ireland maintained an excommunication civil, commercial, social, and religious, between the native Irish and the Anglo-Irish colony. Had the framers of our statutes believed that the Irish were idolatrous gentiles, and the English a chosen people, the preservative against Irish contagion could not be more jealous in its spirit or more minute in its details.

The statute may be taken as an epoch, midway between the Invasion and the Reformation. It marks the falling in of the hastily constructed fabric of Anglo-Norman feudality, undermined by the incessant action of Celtic unconquerable attachment to ancient usages. An amalgamation of the two hostile races was taking place. The English were grown, in the language of the day, "degenerate," and adopting very generally Irish laws, language, and usages. As the differences between the two Irish bloods disappeared, a new element of discord necessarily sprung up, and in the year 1340, as Grace deplures, invidious and baneful distinctions were, for the first time, made between the English of England and the *English born in Ireland*; for the latter was the singular name by which the descendants of the original settlers were known. This adoption by the colonists, of Irish customs and language, would appear to be only the natural result of long intercourse and matrimonial alliances with a warm-hearted and hospitable people; but in the earlier part of the 14th century, two events accelerated the ascendancy of the Irish, and made the exclusive provisions of the statute of Kilkenny more necessary than at any previous period. These events were, the invasion of Ireland by Bruce, in the year 1316; and the murder of William Burke, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, in 1331.

From the year 1172 to the Scottish invasion, 1316, no signal success had attended the struggles of the Irish. Blood flowed without ceasing; but it was shed in partial resistance. A glance even at the English annalists proves that the Irish were never unresisting victims; but there was no central power, no commanding genius to concentrate their scattered energies and exalt individual or provincial exertion into a national movement. Hence we find that though previous to the Scottish invasion every inch of land was purpled with the blood of the Irish defending or endeavouring to recover their fruitful valleys, they were generally driven into the bogs, the mountains, or the woods. O'Neill, in his remon-

strance, expressly declares it. With the exception of a large portion of the North, in which they do not appear to have left any trace whatsoever of military occupation, the invaders built castles and effected settlements in almost every quarter of the island. From their strong castles they overawed the surrounding districts; and so complete was their seclusion from the natives, or so unceasing their hostility, or so tenacious were they of their English usages, that the distinction between the English *Pale* and the *degenerate* English was utterly unknown; and English laws, language, and usages, were, if we can believe the preamble of our statute, coextensive with English settlements. But the invasion of Bruce shook the English power to its centre; and though unsuccessful in their struggle, and even suffering from more decisive defeats than any previously received, the native Irish so rapidly acquired the ascendancy, that we find all the great English Lords, assembled in the year 1342 at Kilkenny, complaining in their address to Edward III, that one third of the lands originally acquired by the invaders had already been recovered by the "Irish enemy." A desire to conciliate the growing power of the Irish, or the interruption of intercourse between the different settlements, or the general relaxation of English government, or all united, may explain how rapidly in the remote districts, the settlers embraced Irish laws and customs and language after Bruce's invasion.

Scarcely less influential in producing the same amalgamation, was the murder of Richard Burke, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught in the year 1331. He was the head of his own family, which had long since acquired extensive possessions in Connaught, to which, by his marriage with a daughter of Lacy of Meath, he added the earldom of Ulster. Lionel, third son of Edward III, in 1352, married the heiress of Burke's extensive possessions, and was then created in her right Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught; but the junior branches of the Burke family, fearing this transfer into strange hands of their family inheritance, seized and divided the estates, renounced English laws and language, and adopted, together with the titles and war-cries, the language and customs of their Irish neighbours. The example of this princely family was generally followed; but against them, it is supposed the statute of Kilkenny was specially directed, Lionel himself, who presided in the parliament, regarding them as the usurpers of his own legal rights.

The precise limits of English dominion, when this statute

was enacted, cannot be accurately determined. The counties of Louth, Meath, Trim, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary, together with Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Connaught, are expressly mentioned. But how far those territories coincided with our modern divisions of the same titles is uncertain; the extent and even the number of our ancient Irish counties remaining to this day involved in obscurity. Surrounding and sometimes penetrating those counties, were the lands called marches or borders. They were generally the base line of a mountain, the border of a bog, a river, a deep wood, or any other natural fortress of the persecuted natives. The line of the marches sometimes extended, sometimes contracted, according to the predominance of English or of native power; nor is it possible to fix their limits and extent when this statute was passed, though it expressly distinguishes "march law" from the Brehon law of the independent septs, and the English law of the subjugated shires, and even contemplates in several of its provisions the inhabitants and proprietors of the marches exclusively. Almost the whole county of Wicklow, the northern portion of Wexford, and the mountains between Carlow and Wexford, together with the present King's and Queen's county, were certainly occupied by independent tribes, and presented an extensive line of exposed border for irruption into the Leinster shires. The O'Ferralls of Longford, the M'Geoghegans of Westmeath, the O'Reillys of Cavan, the Mac Mahons and O'Hanlons, &c. of Monaghan and Armagh, were the sturdy Irish borderers of the north. Beyond the Shannon, the O'Briens maintained themselves in Clare, the O'Connors &c. &c. in the north and south-west of Connaught; but the greater part of that province was in possession of the degenerate Burkes and other English families; while the Powers, Fitzgeralds, Barrys, Roche, Butlers, Condons, held far the more extensive and fruitful portion of Munster. Constantly at war with these Munster English, and hanging on their marches, were the native Irish septs of the south, the M'Carthy, O'Carrolls, O'Callaghans, O'Sullivan, &c. &c., who, though often encompassed on all sides by English settlements, still struggled for their lands, and maintained their customs and laws. This *ethnographic* sketch of the Ireland of 1367, shews the districts in which the oppressive provisions of the Kilkenny statute were to be enforced, and the relative positions of the three classes of Irishmen of those days—viz. the Irish

enemies, the degenerate English rebels, and the liege English of the king.

The ordinances and articles of the statute were established by "our lord the king, in his parliament (held at Kilkenny), by Lionel his lieutenant, *in the parts* of Ireland, by the king's council there, with the assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors (as to what appertains to them to assent to), the earls, barons, and others, the commons of the said land, at the said parliament, then being and assembled." The ordinances and articles, though comprehending in minute detail almost all the relations of public and domestic life, may be reduced to a few general heads.

The perpetual division of the rival races, being the grand object of the parliament, naturally claimed the first place. It was enacted, that no alliance by marriage, gossiped, fostering of children, or amour, should be formed between the English and Irish; that no Englishman nor other person, being *at peace*, do give or sell to any Irishman in time of peace or war, horses or armour, or any manner of victuals in *time of war*, under the penalty of life and member, as traitor to the king. The last clause was, at a later period, extended even to times of peace; for, a parliament (1429) complains that several liege Englishmen frequented fairs and markets held amongst the Irish enemies, and subjects such intercourse, whether in peace or war, to the penalties of felony. The reasons of these commercial restrictions are enforced more fully in a parliament Ed. IV, A.D. 1480, and are strikingly similar in spirit to that uniform commercial jealousy which has ever sought to crush Irish prosperity. The English commons complained that Irish merchants, who had acquired stocks of goods from the English merchants of Ireland, had injured the markets of Athboy, Kells, Foure, Mullingar, and Old Castle, and other ancient English market towns, by holding markets in the country of O'Reily, and the country of O'Farrell, at Cavan, Granard, Longford, and other places, whereby the Irish enemies were greatly enriched, and the king's English impoverished. It was, of course, enacted, that no English merchant should bring any merchandize to the Irish markets, or hold any intercourse with them, under penalty of the forfeiture of their goods and their bodies at the king's pleasure. These acts were conceived in the same policy that proscribed by acts of parliament (Edw. III, A.D. 1339, and Henry VI, A.D. 1447) the money which had been coined in several parts of Ireland, especially in O'Reilly's county, by the native sept

for the purposes of commerce. But the clause of our statute against selling to the Irish horses or armour, originated in the very prudent wish to maintain that superiority which mail-clad soldiers must have over naked valour. The Irish themselves, were but too sensible of the terrible advantage their enemies had over them; and one of the northern bards, lamenting the death of O'Neal, slain in the battle of Downpatrick, A.D. 1260, assigns, in the following lines, the real cause of many a similar defeat:—"The Galls (*English*) from London hither, the hosts from Waterford, came in a bright green body, in gold and iron armour, unequal they entered the battle, the Galls and the Irish of Tara. Fair satin shirts on the race of Con (*the Irish*); the Galls in one mass of iron." The English proved their own sense of their superiority, by rigidly and constantly enforcing the penalties of the arms bill.

Even the relaxation of the baronial hall, or humble Anglo-Irish fire-side, could not escape the jealous vigilance of parliament. The Irish of those times, as of the present, were ardent lovers of song. Minstrels were maintained in every tribe; they were generally devotedly attached to the fallen fortunes of their country; they frequently crossed the hostile marches, were hospitably received even by the strangers themselves, and contributed, perhaps as much as any other cause, to the ascendancy of Irish feelings in the heart of the colonists, by blending with the associations of the festal eve, or homely joys, the strains of Ireland's woes. But the minstrel's garb often covered a heart glowing with inspiration very different from poetry and song. Romantic and authentic tales are told of dispossessed chieftains, who, like Alfred in the camp of the Dane, used the privileges of the bard to inform themselves of the position of their enemies, and concert a plan of attack. These facts account for the stringent enactment of our statute, art. xv, which, after stating that Irish agents, coming among the English, spy out their secrets, plans, and policies, whereby great disasters have often been inflicted, enacts that Irish agents, pipers, story-tellers, babblers, rhymers, or mowers, shall not come amongst the English; that no English shall receive or make gift to such, under penalty of imprisonment and fine, at the king's will, on both the offending parties, and the forfeiture of the instruments of the minstrelsy of the Irish agent. Literary jealousy, perhaps, sometimes seconded this exclusive state policy, for, in 1435, William Lawless, marshal of the liege English mimi of Ireland, was authorized to arrest the Irish harpers, drummers,

fiddlers, gamblers, story-tellers, bards, and others, who, by their intercourse with the pale, were, it was said, useful guides for the Irish enemy.*

If those enactments had been uniformly observed, the two races would have been as separate as if the sea rolled, or the impassable mountain reared its barrier between them. Commerce, music, and the other arts of the age; marriage, gossip, and, above all, the cherished Irish fosterage,—that unequivocal testimony so often paid by the strangers to the tenderness and fidelity of the Irish heart,—all were involved in the same undistinguishing proscription. Every avenue to kindly feeling was closed up. The Irishman beyond the pale, was “the enemy;” within the pale, “the outlawed slave.”

The third article against the Irish language we give in the original French. It will serve both as a specimen of the *Anglo-Hiberno-Gallic*, and as a palpable example of that reckless legislation, in the teeth of all experience, which to this very hour characterizes our Anglo-Irish system.

“Item ordine est et establee que chescun Engleys use la lang Engleis, et soit nome par nom Engleys, enterlessant oultrement [abandonning entirely] la manere de nomere use par Irroies et si nul Engleys ou Irroies (conversant entre Engleys use la lang Irroies) entre euxmesmes encontre cest ordinance et de ces soit atteint, soient sez terrez et tentz [tenements] sil eit seisiz en les maines son Seigneur, immediate tanque qil veigne a un des places nostre Seigneur le Roy, et trove sufficient seurtee de prendre et user la lang Engleys, et adonques eit restitution de sez ditz terrez par breve jussiz [by writ issued] hors de la dit placis, en cas que tiel person niet [has not] terrez ne tentez soit son corps pris par ascuns de ministres nostre Seigneur le Roi, et maunde a la proschin goale, illoques [there] a demeurer tanque qil ou autre en son nome, trove sufficient seurtee en la manere suisdit Et auxiant [also] que les beneficers de Saint Esglise conversantz entre Anglois use la lang Engleis, et sil ne facent, eint leur ordinaires [let their ordinaries have] les issues de leur benefices tanque ils usent la lang Angloise en la maniere suisdit, et eint respit de la lang Engloise apprendre et de celles purvier [to provide saddles] entre cy et le feste Saint Michael proschin avent.”

Saddlers, schoolmasters, and tailors, must have amassed fortunes between the first Thursday in Lent (the day on which this Parliament was held) and Michaelmas-day, A.D. 1367. All English, whether lay or clerical, and all the Irish living among the English, were compelled not to use the Irish language, under the penalties of forfeiture of all lands

* Grace's Annals, Irish Arch. Soc. p. 104.

and tenements, if they had such; of imprisonment, if they had not; and of the fruits of their benefices, if they were ecclesiastics. As the English language had, according to the preamble, fallen into very general disuse, and as the penalties to be incurred in a few months, so that a rich harvest of fine, forfeiture, suspension, and imprisonment, must have been gathered by this singular enactment. But what is meant by the "Lang Engleis?" We suspect it must, like the term "Protestant," be a negative denomination; and that, practically, it means every language except Irish. The nobles and the better class of tenants might speak the Norman French, in which the statute was written; the inhabitants of a Wexford barony, their Flemish, and the colonists from Wales, the Welsh; all languages were free but the language of the people. This was legislation against a plain lesson of contemporary experience, for the English language was now the language of the English people; it had lately (1362) expelled the Norman French from the courts of law, and, invigorated by the genius of Chaucer, was soon after to take possession of the public schools (1385). For three centuries it had been exiled to the peasant's fireside and the markets, and because it finally triumphed over its courtly rival, our Irish parliament wished to enter it in the lists against the Irish. But the Irish was a more formidable antagonist; it had in Ireland the advantage which the English had in England; it was the language of the people, and though constantly proscribed, so constantly gained ground, that the English was, in 1540, utterly unknown except in a few towns and half counties, and probably would have had the same fate in Ireland that the French had in England, had there been an Irish Chaucer, or had our country been saved from the exterminating convulsions of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth century.

The English custom and fashion of riding and apparel, and the use and observance of the English common law, were made obligatory on the *English* of Ireland. March and Brehon law were prohibited. The Irish residing among the English were not included in these provisions, English law being of course denied. It was also enacted, under penalty of imprisonment for one year, and fine at the King's pleasure, that no difference of allegiance should henceforward be made between the English born in Ireland and the English born in England, by calling them *English hobbe* or *Irish dogg*, but that all be called by one name, the English lieges of our Lord the King.

The object of all the preceding enactments, was to check

English "degeneracy." The affairs of war and treaty, the government of the marches, the internal state of the Anglo-Irish, and the very important provisions of ecclesiastical policy, shall now be submitted to the reader; and in order to fill up our sketch of the Ireland of the middle ages, Mr. Hardiman's very copious notes will give a glimpse of the native Irish septs who maintained their own customs and laws free from foreign control.

In every county four of the most substantial men were appointed wardens of the peace, with full power to assess horsemen at arms, hobblers, and footmen, according to the value and quantity of lands and property. The men thus raised were to hold themselves in readiness to rise at the summons of the wardens, who had power to imprison all who disobeyed orders, and who, in order to have always an effective force, were obliged to hold reviews from month to month, at a place the most convenient for the forces of the county. In case of hostile aggression, the statute provides that there shall be "but one peace and one war throughout the whole land;" so that if English or Irish invade any county, that and every surrounding county shall rise when summoned by the wardens or sheriffs, and assail the enemy. But no aggressive war was to be commenced, as heretofore, by private authority. Private war had been, and still continued after this enactment, the scourge of the island. In vain was it now enacted that no war should be commenced without the consent of the Council of the King and the consent of the Lords, Commons, and inhabitants of the marches where the war was to be waged; the unruly barons settled their disputes with the natives, and with each other, generally by the sword. A small tribute, or brief truce, had been, the statute states, the ordinary result of previous wars; the English borderers had even often held private parley with the enemy, and turned the tide of invasion on a neighbouring march; to repress which evils, it was enacted that no private parley with the enemy should be allowed, that no peace should be made, until the enemy had been totally crushed, or consented to repair all the damages, and, together with a fine at the King's pleasure, to pay all expenses of the war. When peace was concluded, hostages were taken, who, according to the custom of the land, were executed without mercy if the conditions were violated. Many a noble youth thus met a melancholy end during those troubled times. Mr. Hardiman recounts a sad catalogue of English and of Irish victims, closing with the two

sons of the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, in 1581. An Englishman violating a lawful treaty was to be imprisoned for life, if he could not repair the injuries and damages of the war.

The twelfth article ordains that in every future peace, in every march of the land, it shall be expressly stipulated that no Irishman shall pasture or occupy the lands of the English or Irish (who are at peace). As pasture was the principal wealth of the native Irish, immense droves of their cattle hung on the borders, and in time of war were driven into the cultivated lands of the pale. The herd was called a *creaght*, and by the same name was known the driver or guardian, who holds so conspicuous a place in Griffin's beautiful picture of sunset on the hills of Clare.

“On Shannon's side the day is closing fair,
The *kern* sits musing by his shieling low,
Or marks beyond the lonely hills of Clare,
Blue, rimmed with gold, the clouds of sunset glow;
Along the sunny highland, pacing slow,
The *keyriaght* lingers with his herd the while,
And bells are tolling faint from far St. Sinon's isle.”

The borderers were naturally anxious to keep the *creaghts* at a respectful distance. It was enacted that if the herd ranged on the border land without the consent of the lord of the marches, it should be impounded, but not dispersed as had hitherto been usual; if the owner paid the damages, the herd was restored. This unusual respect for the property of the mere Irish was carried so far, that any Englishman attempting to scatter the herd, or prevent its restoration, was made liable to the penalties of public robbery; and the effects of this statute were even suspended until the following Michaelmas, in order to give all the Irish *creaghts* due warning. How inefficient were all these laws appears from the repeated enactments of succeeding parliaments. The following extract from an act, 1440, graphically depicts the devastation often carried by the dreaded *creaghts* into the rich lands of the Pale: “A conference being held between the Bishop of Meath, and de Grey, knight lieutenant of our lord the King, whereas divers Irish rhymers and others living on the marches, without the license of our lord the King, did at the time of war lay waste and destroy the march lands, and bring their *creaghts*, to wit, horses, heifers, oxen, sheep, calves, pigs, great and small, goats, and all their other goods and chattels, within the *land of peace* called *Maghers*,

and there dwell without leave of the lords of such lands, and as well cut and burn their woods and gardens as graze and destroy their meadows and pastures—it is enacted, that neither in time of peace or war shall the *creaghts* pass from the march lands into the *land of peace*, under pain of imprisonment of the drivers, and forfeiture of the whole *creaght*, of which half was given to the King and half to the injured party.”—p. 42. The *keyriaght* was armed with a club and long knife, to suit his character of shepherd-soldier.

The *land of peace* was, in the preceding and other records, the denomination of the interior shire ground of the colonists. Modern ideas may not admit the absolute propriety of the characteristic; but contemporary history, by its pictures of the ceaseless border warfare, proves the relative propriety of the antithesis between the shire grounds and the marches, which, like a circle of flame, encompassed them. The marches were the “land of war;” they were covered with castles, the ruins of which may still be seen strewn thick around the old borders of the pale; they attracted, from among the English and the Irish, all those who desired or were necessitated to live by the sword; but so oppressive were the duties of the marches, so ceaseless the activity and vigilance of the enemy, that frequent complaints are recorded of careless warders and of inroads unavenged. The marchers, who did not reside, but were either absentees in England, or enjoying the ease of their castles in the “land of peace,” more than once forfeited, as the penalty of their neglect, the resources of their other territories, to be applied for the defence of the border castles. These castles* were guarded by kerns, hobblers, and idlemen, who, though expressly forbidden in the land of peace by our statute, were allowed in the marches, but at the expense of those who retained them. The kerns were Irish, whose sole business was war; now with the English and now with their countrymen; they were often the terror and scourge of those whom they were called in to protect. They quartered on the free English tenants of the marches. Acts were passed in 1310 and 1339 to protect the farmers and tenants from this exaction; and our statute renews the protection, including in the same provision as the

* “That horrible crimes have been perpetrated within these [castles] there is abundant evidence, but, with all the internal wars and dissensions of the Irish, I cannot find that they came near their neighbours, the English, or the old castellains of Europe, in refined cruelty.” See *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 229. London, 1838.

kerns, the more favoured class called idlemen. This term "idlemen," supposed to be derived from the Saxon *œdel* (noble), was applied to designate the needy nobles, who were too proud to seek a livelihood by any ungentle occupation; and who either hung in listless dependance around the peaceful castles of their wealthy relative, or, with the sword as their sole inheritance, preferred the more stirring life of the border fortress. They were a numerous and powerful class, and remind us of the Polish nobles of later times. There is no country in the world, said Davis, in which you find so many gentlemen as of the O'Neills in Ulster, the Burkes in Connaught, and the Butlers and Fitzgeralds in Leinster and Munster, &c. What a pest they must have been, appears from the several attempts to make the head of the family legally responsible for the acts of his dependent cousins; and also from the singular arrangement made in 1324, between the King and the great barons Kildare, Butler, Power, Buckingham, Burke, &c., that they would take the felons, robbers, and thieves of their family and surname, and their adherents in the marches, and bring them to justice in the king's courts. Our statute imposes that duty, but at the same time offers waste lands in fee or farm to the idlemen, if they consent to accept them.

As, from their border position, the marches were exposed to the seductive influence of Irish laws, language, and feelings, all parleys with the natives were severely prohibited, except in presence of the sheriffs or wardens of the peace, or with permission of the court. The amusements of the marches are made the subject of legislation. Quoits-playing and *hurlings* ("les jues que homes appelle horlings en grand bastons"), are prohibited under penalty of imprisonment. In a "land of war," adds our statute, men ought to know how to defend themselves. Their few breathing respites, from the hot game of life or death, should be a preparation to play with success. They should, therefore, accustom themselves to use and draw bows, and throw lances, and other gentleman-like games, ("autres gentils jeuyes").

Were we to judge of the internal state of the pale, from the provisions of the statute, we should have a terrible picture indeed of civil and social disorder. Heavy penalties are inflicted on the sheriffs and seneschals of franchises, and on the serjeants of counties, for the abuse, then grown common, of turning to their own use the king's debts, levied on the people, who were thus often obliged to pay twice.

Sheriffs were also guilty of *very great oppression*, by the enormous sums levied on market towns and in their baronies, during their tours in their bailiwick. The king's judges, and the judges in the franchises, as well as the constables of castles, had raised their fees to an exorbitant amount, but were compelled to lower them to the English standard. Such civic and judicial officers could not be very efficient in the prevention or detection of crime, which was moreover facilitated by the conflicting jurisdictions of franchises and gildable lands. Malefactors flew with their goods from the guild to the franchise, or from the franchise to the guild, and eluded the execution of justice; but our statute obliges the officers, both of the guild and the franchise, mutually to aid and assist each other. Act VII. enumerates, among the common evils of the time, conspiracies, confederacies, maintainers of quarrel, false swearers, &c.; and art. XXIX. plainly intimates, that common malefactors, robbers, and barrators, had been maintained, not only by the great and little lords of the land, but even by the king's courts. Such being the character of the English officers, the fate of the mere Irish* living among them must have been deplorable. They had no protection for property or life from English law; their English lord was absolute master of their properties, as well as of all the rights enjoyed by the Irish chieftains (*Moore*, p. 75.) Our statute protects them so far, that an Irish enemy being at peace (*Irrois ennemys esceantz a la pees*) and becoming debtor to an Englishman or Irishman, is alone responsible for the debt. No other person belonging to him can be seized, as was hitherto the practice. To complete this sad picture, so oppressed were the labouring classes of the English colony, that they fled into England and other countries. To check this emigration, it was enacted that no labourer should pass beyond the sea; and orders were forwarded to all the sea-port towns to carry the enactment into effect.

* The subjoined extract from an Irish annalist (*Rites and Customs of Hymany*, p. 139), throws some light on the state of the native Irish under the dominion of the English lords. "O'Madden of Hymany, alone of all the Irish chieftains, remained faithful to the Earl of Ulster during the Scotch invasion. The earl, to reward this fidelity, allowed one third of his province to be subject to O'Madden, that no English steward should be over his Gaels, and that his stewards should be over the English of the entire territory, both towns and castles. O'Madden and his blood were also declared *noble* as the earl and his blood, though the ordinary principle of the English lords was, that the Gael though a landholder was ignoble, and that the Saxon was noble though without education or lands."

Though the internal affairs of the independent Irish (for *independent* they really were) may appear foreign to our statute, we cannot resist the temptation of touching lightly a few notices among the many collected by Mr. Hardiman, to illustrate the state of Ireland in the Middle Ages. *Minus opprimor armis quam calamis*, is the complaint of Ireland, in a poem composed by one of her exiled sons in the last century. The complaint is full of bitter truth. Positive calumny, unjust suppression of facts, or rich sources of pure truth unexplored, have been, and we fear still are, in a great degree, the defects of our histories. But, perhaps, among all the periods of our story, there is not one so neglected as that from the Invasion to the Reformation. Many interesting works, it is true, written on Irish Catholic affairs, by eye-witnesses, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are now almost unknown: Primate Lombard's *Commentarium*, Bishop Rothes' *Analecta*, O'Daly's *Relatio Persecutionis Hibernicæ*, Bruodin's *Passio Martyrum*, Morrison's *Threnodia*, O'Sullivan's *Historiæ Catholicæ*, Porter's *Annales*, &c., &c., are now so rare, and so enormously dear, when they can be had, that none but a wealthy and fortunate antiquarian can expect to possess them. But the substance of all those works has been partially given in some of our English histories, while the substance of the Irish annals, from the Invasion to the Reformation, is, on the contrary, so much neglected that we generally see but one side of the picture. The native Irish are thrown completely into the background, the Anglo-Irish colony engaging exclusively the historian's attention.

An extract, now for the first time published by Mr. Hardiman, from the *Annals of the M'Firbis*, is a specimen of the unworked materials to which we refer. It is a tribute to the memory of Margaret, daughter of O'Carroll, chieftain of Ely, and wife of O'Connor Faly. The translation was made by one of the family of M'Firbis, for Sir James Ware, in the seventeenth century. We give it without any change. It describes the manner in which the "wild Irish" of the bogs of Offaly celebrated the festival of their patron saint, in the fifteenth century, a time when straw, be it remembered, was the common carpeting of the palaces of Europe. Margaret died A.D. 1451.

"Though this year, A.D. 1451, is a year of grace [jubilee] with the Church, it is an inauspicious and unglorious year to all the learned of Ireland,—both philosophers, poets, guests, strangers, religious persons, soldiers, mendicants, and poor orders. * * *

It was she that twice in one year proclaimed to and commonly invited, *i. e.* in the dark days of the year, viz., on the feast day of *Da Sincall* Mac Killaighy, all persons, both Irish and Scottish, or rather Albains, to two general feasts of bestowing both meat and moneys, with all other manner of gifts. Whereunto gathered to receive gifts about 2700 persons, besides gamesters and poore men, as it was recorded in a roll to that purpose. . . . *ut vidimus*. . . viz., the chief kins of each family of the learned Irish, were by *Gillana-naomh* Mac Egan's hand, written in the roll, the chief judge to O'Connor and his adherents and kinsmen, so that the aforesaid number of 2700 was listed in that roll, with the arts of *dann* or poetry, musick and antiquitie. And Mælin O'Machony, one of the chief learned of Connaught, was the first written in the roll, and first prayed and set to supper and those of his name after him, and so forth every one as he was payed, he was written in the book for fear of mistake. And Margaret on the garrets of the great church of *Da Sincall* Killaighy [King's County] clad in cloth of gold, her dearest friends about her, her clergy and judges too. Calvagh himself on horseback by the church's outward side, to the end that all things might be done orderly and each one served successively. And first of all they gave two chalices of gold, as offerings that day on the altar of God Almighty, and she also caused to nurse or foster two young orphans. But so it was we never saw or heard neither the like of that day. And she gave the second inviting proclamation to every one that came not that day, on the feast of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady Mary, in harvest at or in Rath I Mayn [Rathangan, County Kildare], and so we have been informed that that second day in Rath I Mayn was nothing inferior to the first day. And she was the only woman that made most of preparing highways and bridges, churches and mass books, and of all manner of things profitable to serve God and her soul, and not that only but while the world stands her very many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered. God's blessings and the blessings of all saints, and every one's blessing, from Jerusalem to Inis gluar [County Sligo], be on her going to heaven, and blessed be he that will hear or read this for blessing her soul."

The truly Irish character of this eulogy, especially at the close, will, we trust, be a sufficient excuse for giving it entire. Extracts of this kind, from the many unpublished Irish annals of the period, might not, perhaps, contribute anything to what we already know of the *international* relations of the Irish and Anglo-Irish, but what a rich colouring—what a new light would they not throw on the social state of the mere Irish of the Middle Ages. About a century after the death of Margaret, her church of Killeigh was plundered by the Anglo-Irish, headed by the lord deputy, who carried away a 'pair

of organs,' to be placed in the college of Maynooth, together with glass sufficient to glaze not only the windows of the church of that college, but most of the windows of the castle of Maynooth itself.*

But to return to our statute. Its provisions prove that it must be regarded, not as a law for all Ireland, but as a law for the descendants of the English settlers, and also in part for the native Irish living amongst them. Not one of its clauses or expressions implies the wish or the exercise of any legislative authority beyond the English marches. It speaks the language, it breathes the spirit, it employs the precautions of a colony encompassed by a people hostile and practically independent. The Irishman beyond the marches, even when he is not in arms (*esceantz a la pees*), is the "enemy;" and rules are laid down for carrying on war, for making treaty with him, as with a foreigner, not a fellow-subject. The native Irish, living amongst the English, are jealously, perhaps truly, regarded as *dangerous neighbours*,—as men who, if they were *Irish by both father and mother, would by nature betray the secrets of the English* (p. 83). This distinction between the two races—the source and end of our statute—the distinction which inflicted such permanent political and civil disorders on Ireland, was too deeply rooted to yield to the influence even of their common religion. The Irish enemy, it was feared, might lurk under the monk's cowl, the canon's surplice, or the bishop's rochette, and hence the two provisions of our statute, which tyrannically close against all native Irishmen the monasteries, the collegiate and cathedral churches, the bishoprics, and, in its own comprehensive words, *all* the ecclesiastical benefices in possession of the English. The Irishman who wished to devote himself to God, either in the ecclesiastical or monastic state, was obliged to beg a charter of denizenship, to qualify himself for admission into the churches or monasteries of the English, or to cross the marches, to the monasteries of his own countrymen—this ecclesiastical regulation not being intended, any more than the secular regulations, for the Irish districts; so that the eight bishops present at this Kilkenny parliament,† bound themselves to adopt, in the English, a different practice in the selection of subjects, from what they adopted in the Irish districts

* Moore, vol. iii. p. 274.

† The learned editor does not notice the variance between our statute and Ware's "Bishops." John Tateneal was bishop of Ossory A.D. 1367, and yet *William* of Ossory is the signature to the statute.

of their diocesses. It is a disagreeable task to search for the origin of these differences, which thus carried political feelings into the sanctuary; but if there be a single reflection to cheer us in the search, it is, that under the very roof of that cathedral in which this parliament was held, the two races stood, a few centuries later, banded in persevering and, thank heaven, victorious resistance to the parliamentary creed of England; that in this cathedral the exultation of clergy and people was boundless on the expulsion of Bale; and that it witnessed the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, of the confederate Catholics of 1642. Even then, alas! they had not abandoned their political dissensions, or mutual fears, though they mingled their life-blood for the faith on the scaffold or in the field. The degenerate English and the liege English, and the native Irish, from the very first, were almost universally* faithful to the Catholic Church; the Anglo-Irish thereby sacrificing their political predilections and English sympathies, and expiating, by the sufferings and fidelity of the three last centuries, the injury inflicted by their ancestors on the Church, when English policy, under the mask of religion, closed against the native Irish the doors of the sanctuary.

The causes of this exclusive ecclesiastical policy are not difficult to be discovered, though they lead to conclusions directly opposed to generally received opinions. What is more frequently heard, than that the native clergy were induced, by the boundless privileges and rich bribes of Henry II, to cooperate in the subjugation of their native land? But, however fair the prospect opened to Henry's policy, by the presence of three of the Irish ecclesiastical provinces at the synod of Cashel, his hopes, and those of his successors, were never realized; for the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage to Englishmen alone, wherever English power extended, proves that the spirit of the patriot saint,—the spirit of St. Laurence O'Toole,—survived among the native clergy; who, had they cooperated with the designs of the invaders, would have found the rewards of their subserviency, in the high places of the Church. But, in the sees of Dublin, Kildare, Leighlin, Ferns, Ossory, Waterford, Limerick, among the

* In his very eloquent sketch of Irish history, during a late debate (Feb. 19, 1844), Mr. Macauley is reported to have asserted, that the English colonists embraced the Reformed faith. No Irish historian, Protestant or Catholic, says so. Mr. Macauley was probably misreported. Such ignorance would not be surprising in other British statesmen.

bishops promoted from 1180 to 1367, the year of the Kilkenny statute, very few were native Irishmen. All the others were English or Anglo-Irish. In this respect, as in others, the invaders of Ireland faithfully followed the example of the conqueror of England. He robbed the Saxon monasteries of their lands, their wealth, and even the ornaments and sacred vessels of their churches; but founded,—in the spirit of penance, we hope,—several monasteries before his death. The invaders of Ireland plundered the Irish churches and monasteries, when they could do so with impunity; but many of them gave back to the Church, by new foundations, a portion of their sacrilegiously acquired wealth. William hated the Saxon clergy, and, when his power was consolidated, excluded them from the Church, and saw, before his death, all, even the lowest ecclesiastical, offices, filled by his own countrymen exclusively. The invaders of Ireland had the same spirit, though not the same success; for, by their exclusive policy, they made that Irish portion of the Church which was beyond their power, the repository of the wrongs and indignant feelings of the nation; they made the *mere* Irish clergy, what they continued to be through centuries, and are at this day,—the fervid, the incorruptible life-blood of the national heart. The encroachments of regal power on the freedom of the Church were steadily resisted; the tithes and privileges enacted and confirmed at Cashel, were neither exacted nor received; and a large portion of the Irish Church remained precisely such as it had been before the Plantagenet ever set his foot on Irish soil. The Anglo-Irish exclusive policy of ecclesiastical promotion, naturally, but unfortunately, produced retaliatory acts. About the year 1250, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of Ireland, who were of Irish birth, excluded, by a synodical act, all Englishmen born, from becoming canons in the Irish cathedrals. We may easily conceive how keenly the Irish must have felt the exclusion of their countrymen from the Anglo-Irish diocesses: they recollected, perhaps, with pardonable feelings, with national pride, the yet recent glory of St. Malachy, St. Laurence, and Gelasius, and while, in the political order, the marriage of de Lacy with the daughter of O'Connor, might soothe the humbled pride of Meath, or Leinster obey with pleasure the grandchildren of king Dermot, there was nothing to palliate the exclusion of the Irish ecclesiastics from the dignities of their Church. For, though the foreign prelates have, many of them, left durable monuments of their pious zeal and munificence, they had no Anselms nor Lanfrances among

them. The act of the Irish synod of 1250, was, at the instance of the king, annulled by the Pope. It was the first avowed act of Irish reaction against Anglo-Irish practice, and sprung from that hostility, which, though it never violated the essential bonds of Christian unity, nor led to any, even the slightest, doctrinal differences, yet kept the Church of the Irish as distinct from the Church of the Anglo-Irish, as the native Irish were from the English colonists.

Though we know what had been the exclusive practice of the Anglo Normans in the higher promotions, previous to the year 1360, there does not, as far as we can learn, appear to have been any publicly acknowledged rule for excluding mere Irishmen from all the offices of the Anglo-Irish church. To remove *Irishmen* from all offices of trust, honour, and power, not suddenly, but gradually, was the fundamental maxim of English policy in Ireland. The encroachments on the liberty of the Church very probably were of the same character. In 1360 the mask was completely thrown off by that famous mandate issued under James, Earl of Ormond, by which it was enacted that no archbishop, bishop, abbot, or prior, should promote any mere Irishman to any ecclesiastical benefice or cathedral dignity, among the English, through any motive of consanguinity, affinity, or other cause whatsoever. Though that act was in the following year so explained by the King, as not to include the Irish who had done him any service, or given proofs of their loyalty, our parliament enacts, without any restriction whatsoever, "that no Irishman of the nations of the Irish be admitted into any cathedral or collegiate church, by provision, collation, or presentation of any person, nor to any benefice of holy church amongst the English of the land; and that such promotion, if made, should be held void, the King having the right of presentation for that avoidance, to whomsoever the advowson of the benefice belonged." The operation of this statute soon left many churches among the English without pastors. The Irish government, to remedy the evil, granted licenses to Irish clerks in considerable numbers, to qualify them for holding benefices against the statute of Kilkenny; but in 1416, an English Act of Parliament, 4 vol. 3, stat. 2, Henry V, chap. 8, after reciting that many Irish had, by virtue of licenses issued by the Irish Lord Lieutenants, been appointed archbishops, bishops, &c., who had then promoted many of their countrymen to ecclesiastical benefices, declares that the statute of Kilkenny should thenceforward be rigorously

executed. Some instances occur of special licenses issued afterwards, but the instances are few; the statute was generally enforced, and formed part of that system which excluded the natives from the benefit of English law; the license always included a grant of English law and liberty, for the *mere* Irish bishops and priests had as little protection from English law as their countrymen. An English court would not take cognizance of the murder of an Irish bishop, if he had not received a charter of denizenship, or been one of the few privileged bloods. The mere Irish Church had no share in the privileges of state connexion such as it is explained in the following articles of our statute, though the names of three Irish bishops—John O'Grady, Archbishop of Tuam; Thomas O'Hogan, Killaloe; and Thomas O'Carroll, Archbishop of Cashel—are found among the signatures.

Art. 1 ordains that the Church shall be free, and enjoy all franchises granted heretofore by the king and his predecessors, according to statutes made either in Ireland or England. Any person excommunicated for violating those franchises, and not making satisfaction within a month after excommunication, shall, upon certificate being made to the chancery, be taken into custody by the king's officers, and detained until satisfaction is made. No lay person, great or little, shall interfere with or take by sale or in any other manner, by extortion or at a lower price than they may be sold to another, tithes or any other property appertaining to the Church, under the penalty of double restitution and fine according to the king's pleasure. No person, English or Irish, excommunicated by archbishops, bishops, or for reasonable cause, at the request of the king, or an officer, or at the suit of the party, shall be received into favour, by king, minister, or liege subjects, on the points for which excommunication has been passed, until satisfaction has been made, and absolution given, according to the rites of the Church.

The enactment, excluding the *mere* Irish from the Church, pressed with peculiar severity on those diocesses, which, like Dublin, included purely Irish and purely English districts. In 1485 Archbishop Fitzimon obtained the privilege of appointing for ten years Irish clerks to those benefices of his diocese of Dublin, which were situated among the Irish enemy, because no Englishman could reside in those benefices, either through ignorance of the Irish language, or contempt, or fear of the natives. In 1495 a similar privilege was obtained for the same diocese; but the principle was generally maintained in all the diocesses among the *English*.

The same qualifying licences were taken out, with the usual grant of English laws and liberty, during the reigns of Henry the eighth and of his three children, by the native Irish, who were promoted in the Anglo-Irish Church. But the old Anglo-Irish Church, the favoured object of English predilection for 350 years, the Catholic Church of the pale, had then taken her stand beside, or rather become identified with, her *mere*-Irish sister,—forming that long-persecuted but finally triumphant society,—the “chief difficulty” of unjust governors—the Catholic Church of Ireland. When will the happy day arrive, that will teach Ireland never to allow one portion of her children to be instruments in the hands of another country, for Irish degradation—when all Irishmen will have learned to read their history correctly, and see who has ever been, through all changes, the real enemy of Irish prosperity—the enemy that, under different names and different pretexts, has always fostered Irish dissensions, because Irish dissensions secured impunity for English misgovernment, damped the zeal of Irishmen for the welfare and glory of their father-land, and made us regard each other, too often, not as we really are, but as our common master makes or represents us.

The national antipathy between the rival races manifested itself among the religious orders as well as among the secular clergy. The fifth article of the memorable remonstrance, A.D. 1317, of O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, to Pope John XXII, complains of a regulation lately made at Kilkenny, by which all Irishmen are excluded from the religious communities situated within the limits of English power in Ireland, under pain of being treated as refractory subjects of the king, and disobedient to the rule of their religious superiors. “This enactment,” adds the remonstrance, “was little needed; because, before as well as after this period, the Anglo-Irish Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, regular canons, and all other communities of their countrymen, observed the spirit of it but too faithfully. In the choice of their subjects they had evinced a partiality the more shameful, as the houses for Benedictines and Canons, whence the Irish are now excluded, were asylums destined by their founders for persons from all nations and indiscriminately.” Such an exclusive spirit was in keeping with the favourite policy of the foreigners, and produced among the native Irish its natural results. On the authority of a record in the Tower of London, A.D. 1329, Cox relates, that the Abbey of Mellifont, the oldest Cistercian house in Ireland, whose abbot took precedence in Parliament

of the abbots of all other orders, had been accustomed to exclude all those who had not taken an oath that they were not of English descent. Though the chapter, A.D. 1323, condemned that practice and warned all, especially Irish abbots, to throw open their houses to fit persons of whatsoever race or country, Edward II complained to the Pope, the following year, that the Irish still continued to exclude English from their monasteries. In 1337, Edward III, after stating that his father had at first excluded all Irishmen from Anglo-Irish monasteries, but had afterwards revoked that order—ordained that all loyal Irish should be admitted on the same terms as Englishmen, (*Rymer*, vol. iii. p. 964). But, from whatsoever cause, this salutary ordinance was soon annulled. Our Parliament enacts, that “no religious house, situate amongst the English, be it exempt or not, shall henceforth receive any Irishmen to their profession; but may receive Englishmen, without taking into consideration whether they be born in England or in Ireland (*sanz avoir consideration lesquelles soient nées en Angleterre ou en Irlande*), and that whoever acts otherwise and shall thereof be attained, their temporalities shall be seized into the hands of the king, so to remain at his pleasure.” This act was, with some exceptions in favour of border monasteries, generally executed. In 1380, a writ reciting and enforcing it was forwarded to the abbot of St. Mary’s, Dublin, of St. Thomas the Martyr, near Dublin, of Mellifont, Baltinglass, Dunbrody, Duleek, Bective, Dowsk, Tracton, Nenay, Tinterne, Saul, Iniscourcy, Bangor, Inde, and Jerpoint; and also to the priors of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, of St. Patrick of Down, of Conall, of All Saints Dublin, and of Louth. Of the thirty-four Cistercian monasteries in Ireland, the preceding list includes nearly a dozen; but it is not easy to tell why some monasteries, e. g. Cashel, or Holy Cross, or others which were certainly subject to English power in 1380, were not similarly *Anglicized*. These distinctions were kept up between many of the religious communities down to the reformation. They never led to any schism or heresy; and the more we consider them, the more reason have we to be grateful to that over-ruling Providence that prevented one of the hostile races from combining with the English reformers.

In reviewing this picture of Ireland, such as it appears to us, through the provisions of the statute of Kilkenny, every person must be struck with the frightful anarchy and innumerable ills introduced and perpetuated by English government and by its class legislation. The relations of the sister

isles are, unfortunately, to this very day unchanged. One is the tyrannical, the clutching mistress; the other the ill-used, insulted hand-maid. England's national debt of justice to Ireland, if England were judged by the common principles of honesty, would expose her before the whole civilized world, more bankrupt in reputation, than ten thousand times her money debt would make her with the money changers. Part of our *Review* we would willingly have omitted, did we not deem it our duty to show every class of Englishmen the sources of that national prejudice against England, which is made the Irishman's crime, though he must have been more than mortal, if he had not imbibed it from experiencing or studying the unvarying spirit of English governments, from 1172 to 1844. A marvellous consistency in injustice has been their invariable characteristic. The great features of nature, that enriched or ornamented our country in the middle ages, her mountains, her noble streams, her verdant valleys, remain with but slight variation to-day—and with but slight variation remains the curse of man, blighting the bounty of Providence, and making Ireland the land of sighs and tears, and blood. The deep woods of native oak, that darkened our mountains, fell with the free chieftains, whose liberties they guarded; the marsh or the bog has retired before the encroachments of human industry; but these changes have but increased the number and enlarged the work-field of oppressed serfs, the victims of lordling rapacity and of exterminating famine.

In estimating the social and political state of Ireland in the Middle Ages, we must not, of course, take our standard of public tranquillity and happiness from modern times. The Middle Ages were ages of heroic virtues and of great disorders, in every country in Europe. It was not her civil convulsions, but their permanence and their quality that make Ireland the exception. Other countries often enjoyed peace; she never did. The lawless baron, or the rage of conquest, or the Arab spoiler, was not her evil; her evil was a compound, a permanent compound, of all. She had her barons, lawless as any in Europe; she had the ceaseless ebb and flow of conquest over every inch of her soil, and the hostile nations that disputed her possession were as opposed in language, in laws, in civilization, in almost every ingredient of national character, as the nations that convulsed the Spanish peninsula by the collision of the crescent and the cross. Such was the normal state of Ireland during the Middle Ages, and it must have inevitably ended, after a few years, in the grossest

barbarism, were it not for the conservative influence of the Catholic religion ;—that religion, which knows no distinction between Greek or Scythian, though it appeared sometimes to succumb to national prejudice, often vindicated its character of universal love, and through the clouds of human passion that hung over the senate and the judgment-seat, and appeared even to dim the lustre of the cathedral or the monastery ; that religion sent forth its softening rays to dispel prejudice, and to melt down hearts grown hard with hate. Yes, the sceptic or the sectarian may sneer, the peace-officer or lawyer may smile in pity or surprise, but every candid man must acknowledge, every Catholic will bless, the Divine influence of the belief that struck the penal pen from the legislator's hand, and inspired the following words of mercy and love, A.D. 1454 : " That by letters patent of the king, all persons, whether *rebels* or others, shall be taken under protection who go in pilgrimage to the convent of the Blessed Virgin of Navan ; and A.D. 1400, Henry IV confirmed to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin of Trim, an ancient privilege, by which all persons, whether *Irish rebels* or others, who went there on pilgrimage, were taken under royal protection, and secured from all suits of the king, of the lords of Meath, and of all other persons whatsoever."

Where such privileges were granted, wars and laws must have lost in execution much of their bitterness. Imagination can scarcely conceive a more beautiful picture than a calm fifteenth of August eve, near one of those favoured churches of Navan or Trim, when an O'Neil or O'Donnell from the north, a McCarthy or O'Brien from the south, M'Murchad or O'Byrne from his mountain, or O'Moores and O'Connors from the plains of Offaly and Leix, after laying down for a moment the sword of the patriot, cross the marches under protection of that English king, whom they have been combating, advance with their dreaded minstrels, and the other distinctive marks of the Irishman, through the very heart of the land of peace, and, without any guard but the pilgrim's staff, mingle, perhaps after a sad visit to Tarah, with the liege English around the church of our Blessed Lady of Trim, to vent their own and their country's sorrows before the shrine of the Comfortress of the afflicted.

Mr. Hardiman thus sums up the effects of the *Statute of Kilkenny*. The good, died with Lionel, who enacted it ; the evil was permanent :—

" Some Anglo-Irish writers have laboured to shew that the statute of Kilkenny mainly answered the purposes for which it had

been intended, and it has been seen that these purposes were principally to keep the English and Irish for ever separate. But it was too short-lived to answer *all* the ends of its promoters. A paper written in the time of Elizabeth, and preserved in the British Museum, states, that after the death of Duke Lionel, 'the lawes died with him also; but the distrust and disunion which they created, survived, and continued to disturb the country for more than two centuries after. The result was such as might be expected. English power and influence continued to decrease, inasmuch that, at the close of the succeeding century, they were nearly annihilated in Ireland. At the beginning, the native Irish, apprehending that the real object of the law was, to root them altogether out of the land, naturally combined together for safety, and some of the more powerful chieftains resolved upon immediate hostilities. O'Connor of Connaught, and O'Brien of Thomond, for the moment laid aside their private feuds, and united against the common foe. The Earl of Desmond, Lord Justice, marched against them with a considerable army, but was defeated and slain in a sanguinary engagement, fought A.D. 1369, in the county of Limerick. O'Farrell, the chieftain of Annaly, committed great slaughter in Meath. The O'Mores, Cavanaghs, O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles, pressed upon Leinster; and the O'Niels raised the red arm in the North. The English of the pale were seized with consternation and dismay, while the natives continued to gain ground in every direction. At this crisis an opportunity offered, such as had never before occurred, of terminating the dominion of the English in Ireland; but, if the natives had ever conceived such a project, they were never sufficiently united to achieve it. The opportunity passed away, and the disunion of the Irish saved the colony. But the long reign of the second Edward, ended ingloriously in Ireland, and the series of disasters which marked its close, may, in a great degree, be attributed to the impolitic enactment of the *Stat. of Kilkenny*."

In taking leave for the present of Mr. Hardiman and the statute of Kilkenny, it is sincerely hoped that no Irish archaeologist will complain of the spirit in which we have availed ourselves of his Society's labours. Not the slightest intention is entertained of giving that society a political hue; on the contrary, we wish to remove, not increase, the difficulties it must meet with. Perhaps some of the readers of our review may be induced to support by their subscription a society which has already, with very limited means, done more than any other society ever did for the history and literature of Ireland. Let the council of the society follow up their plan, keeping back all works which have not a general interest, and disarming what we consider was the very natural distrust of a large portion of the Irish public.

ART. VII.—“Resolved—That alarmed at the report that an attempt is likely to be made, during the approaching Session of Parliament, to make a State Provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, we deem it our imperative duty, not to separate without recording the expression of our strongest reprobation of any such attempt, and of our unalterable determination to resist, by every means in our power, a measure so fraught with mischief to the independence and purity of the Catholic Religion in Ireland.”—Resolution of the Irish Catholic Bishops in 1837.

“Resolved—That his grace, the most reverend Dr. Murray, be requested to call a special general meeting of the Prelates of all Ireland, in case that he shall have clear proof, or well-grounded apprehension, that the odious and alarming scheme of a State Provision for the Catholic Clergy of this portion of the empire be contemplated by the government before our next general meeting.”—Resolution passed in 1841.

“Resolved—That the preceding Resolutions be now re-published, in order to make known to our faithful Clergy and People, and to all others concerned, that our firm determination on this subject remains unchanged; and that we unanimously pledge ourselves to resist, by every influence we possess, every attempt that may be made to make any State Provision for the Catholic Clergy, in whatever shape or form it may be offered.”—Resolution moved by the most rev. Dr. Murray, seconded by the most rev. Dr. Slaterry, and unanimously adopted, at a meeting of the Irish Catholic Prelates, held in Dublin on the 15th of November 1843, the most rev. Dr. M’Hale being in the chair.

IRELAND has long been an object of no small interest to the rest of the world. In the middle ages, many nations were indebted to her for a knowledge of the arts, the sciences, and the light of the Gospel. Strangers came from afar to the hospitable shores of Ireland, to perfect themselves in the learning of the time; and Irishmen went abroad, actuated by a spirit of the noblest enterprise, that of diffusing among men the knowledge of letters and the blessings of Christianity. Some of them gave lessons of wisdom in the most famous seats of learning; others planted the cross of Christ in the yet unreclaimed wilds of Paganism; and, whether for religion, learning, or the arts of civilization, there was no country of Europe better known or more justly celebrated than the *Insula Sanctorum*. Since the Reformation, the

sufferings of Ireland for the faith have made her known everywhere.

Neither has she in these our days ceased deeply to engage the attention of men's minds. At this moment the eyes of Europe, of the world, are fixed upon her with an intense and, alas! for Ireland, a painful interest. Whithersoever her children go (and where is there not an "exile of Erin" to be found?) they tell the story of their country's wrongs, and awaken the sympathies of the humane in behalf of their oppressed countrymen. From the capital of the Christian world, the father of the faithful, upon whom is the *solicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, is at present regarding her with that paternal interest which the holy father has always felt for Ireland, and which Ireland has always deserved by her filial obedience. France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, are looking on with an interest of a different sort, motives of state-policy mingling largely with their commiseration for the sufferings of a people of ancient renown. From the Himalayas to the Andes, the thoughts of men are turned towards this one little island of the ocean. It was only the other day the Archbishop of Calcutta called upon all within his wide jurisdiction to invoke heaven's blessing upon Ireland; and the moment a packet heaves in sight, or the smoke of a steamer is descried from the shores of America, the people crowd to the beach, eagerly inquiring, "What news from Ireland?" Turn we now homewards, and in both islands we find no thought so much engrosses men's minds as Ireland, though they may be divided by opposite feelings; for, strange to say, it is only at home that any diversity of feeling exists in respect to Ireland. She has no enemies but where she ought to have none, and wants sympathisers there only where sympathy should most abound. This is strange, yet too true. Alas! that it should be so. But, however men may be divided in other respects, they are agreed in riveting their thoughts upon Ireland as the all-absorbing topic of the day. Ireland makes and unmakes ministers of state; Ireland is the battleground chosen for the struggle of the two great parties contending for the mastery of Britain. Your candidate for parliamentary honours stakes his chance of being returned for county or borough on his sentiments towards Ireland; and the declaration of these sentiments becomes the profession of his political creed when the newly-appointed legislator takes his place in the imperial council. On the hustings, in parliament, at the club-rooms, at your fashionable

coteries, at the pious gatherings of Exeter Hall, the topic of all-absorbing interest is Ireland, Ireland, Ireland. And as the fortune of Ireland, for weal or woe, has always gone hand in hand with her religion, so, in what relation soever the case of Ireland may be considered, the national faith forms a necessary counterpart in the inquiry. You cannot separate them. You cannot draw the line between the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country; nor solve any question touching its social, civil, or political economy, apart from its religion; nor legislate as an enlightened statesman, if you proceed in ignorance or contempt of the popular faith. At no time, therefore, could the national faith be left out of view, in considering the general question of Ireland, and those large interests affecting the mass of the Irish people. But, at the present, the religion of that country, with the condition of its pastors, is put forward more prominently than has been the case since the settlement of the Catholic question. A state-provision for the Catholic clergy of Ireland, is a project which has found especial favour, not only with many of the friends of Ireland, but even with not a few of the Tory party: it has been discussed again and again, and advocated upon different grounds, and with much zeal, in some of the leading journals, supposed to reflect the sentiments of that party; and it has been apprehended, on no slight grounds, that one of the remedial or noxious measures in store for Ireland, is this same project of converting the Irish Catholic Church into a stipendiary Church, and raising it to the dignity of step-sister to the Church established by law.

And what cause, we may ask, has given rise to this godly solicitude about the discipline of a Church so lately the object of the most uncharitable vituperation? Is the Catholic Church of Ireland disfigured by the abuses of non-residence, or pluralism, or sinecurism? Or is she encumbered with ecclesiastical monopolists, who add vicarage to parish, and parish to dignity, and then, perhaps, crown this accumulation of clerical opulence with the mitre of a bishop, carefully garnering up to themselves the good things of the Lord's vineyard, but leaving the working clergy to starve upon a miserable pittance, in the inverse ratio of their labour? Is the present system of discipline working badly for the good of

* Not considering unworthy recrimination as either a Christian or becoming practice, we disclaim any intention of insinuating the existence of these abuses in another Church.

religion, of the people, and of the clergy themselves? Are the once disinterested priesthood of Ireland become a set of worldly-minded men, more given to lively amusements than the cure of souls, "greedy of filthy lucre," worshippers of Mammon? Are *they*, the once poor priesthood, laden with spoils wrung from the reluctant grasp of poverty? Are *they*, the once laborious priesthood, no better than drones living in luxurious indolence upon the labour of others, good for nothing but to consume the substance of the industrious classes of the community? Are the people of Ireland groaning under the yoke of their own national Church, and have the exactions of sacerdotal avarice become so exorbitant and oppressive as to call aloud for the interference of the British parliament?

Any one possessing even a tolerable knowledge of the state of Catholicity in Ireland, with only a very little candour, must say "No" to these questions. Not even do its most virulent enemies, that we are aware of, charge these evils upon the Catholic Church of Ireland. What, then, are the motives for urging with so much zeal the pension of the Catholic clergy? Some may be influenced by good motives, and it is but justice to them to admit the goodness of their motives. The measure, in one shape or other, has been advocated by persons friendly to Ireland in and out of parliament; but others, to say no worse, are actuated by a desire, which they openly avow, of detaching the Irish Church from the popular party, and converting it into an engine of state policy subservient to the views of government. The measure is, no doubt, one eminently calculated to serve the purposes of such policy; but it requires not the gift of prophecy to foretel that it would tend to inflict deep and lasting injury upon the interests of the Catholic religion in Ireland. This apprehension it was that alarmed the Catholic prelates, ever the watchful guardians of the flocks committed to their pastoral care, and drew from them in January last, as on two previous occasions, the resolution whereby they denounce in terms of strong reprobation the scheme of pensioning their priests under any shape or form whatsoever. Each word of that resolution deserves to be weighed by every one who wishes well to Ireland and Catholicity.

The people of Ireland, with the clergy of the second order, always obedient to the voice of their chief pastors, have received the resolution of the episcopal body with equal joy and respect. The words of the prelates have found a response in

the heart of every true Catholic in the kingdom—*res finita est*. If we enter upon the discussion of a question, already discussed and settled by those who are competent to entertain it, surely it is not that we pretend either to form the opinion of our Catholic readers in Ireland, or to lay before them reasons why they should now become satisfied with the wisdom of the course which their prelates have thought proper to pursue. No. They rely on the wisdom of their bishops; for, in matters appertaining to faith, or morals, or discipline, it is enough for them to know that their prelates have decided. This wholesome obedience, however, is not to be confounded with a blind submission, a total prostration of judgment, as if Catholics were debarred the privilege of reasonable inquiry. It can nowise unsettle conviction, just as little can it weaken respect for spiritual authority, to set before the reader some few from among the many reasons that evince the wisdom of the resolution adopted by the Irish prelates; on the contrary, such a statement must, while it strengthens conviction, also increase, if possible, the confidence which Catholics repose in the judgment of their spiritual superiors. We say some of the many reasons, because we by no means intend to give a complete elucidation of the question.

For the present, we purpose to give an historical review of the means of support of the Catholic clergy in Ireland; a mode of considering the question somewhat novel, yet well calculated, in our opinion, to strengthen the attachment of Irish Catholics to the existing discipline of their Church; because they must venerate a discipline which dates its origin from the time of St. Patrick, as we shall see, and even of Christ himself. Apart from every other consideration, the mere history of this portion of our ecclesiastical polity is full of interest to the diligent inquirer into Catholic antiquity, whoever he may be. To the Irish Catholic, the glory of his national Church is a theme of just pride, and in the illustration of its history he must feel deeply interested: whatever appertains to the doctrine or discipline of any part of the Church, has claims upon the attention, but when that part is Ireland, upon the sympathies also of English Catholics; and we may venture to add, that neither can this view of the question be wholly uninviting to that numerous class of persons, who holding another form of faith, profess to take no small concern in the condition of the Irish Church and its ministers. Even for them the historical investigation may possess somewhat of interest. Having disposed of the history

of the question, we will then examine whether there be any grounds either of necessity or expediency to support the abolition of the present voluntary system in Ireland, and the substitution of a pension from the state in lieu of it. And we wish it to be distinctly understood upon what footing we put the question. It is not our purpose to discuss the voluntary principle, or a connection between Church and State, in the abstract: we confine our views to Ireland, and we discuss the comparative merits of the voluntary system, as there established, and of its proposed substitute, a government pension.

And here, at the outset, to obviate misconception, let us state clearly what we mean by the voluntary principle. We take it then to denote a system of Church revenue derived from the free contributions of the people. But, in what sense free? as a voluntary support admits of much latitude, and would require to be shut in by some accurate determination of its meaning. Is it essential to a voluntary support, that the clergy have no manner of right to it founded on natural justice? No: the Redeemer, referring to the preachers of the Gospel, says the labourer is worthy of his hire,* and St. Paul† proves at length that the minister of the Gospel has a right to live by the Gospel; and yet nobody can pretend that the support of the apostles and the first preachers of the Gospel was not voluntary. Is that alone a voluntary support which is derived from occasional offerings? No: a support derived from land or any other fixed endowment, though the pious donor may have long since gone to his reward, is and continues voluntary, inasmuch as it was in its origin a gift, not the less free because it was of a fixed nature. Is it further essential to the voluntary principle, that Church possessions, moveable or other, shall not be legalized—in other words shall not have the sanction of the civil law? Surely not: a legal sanction confirming a free gift to the Church does by no means alter the nature of the gift; but only extends to ecclesiastical property the same security as to any other species of property,—no more. Lastly, does the voluntary principle require that the Church shall not regulate the revenues of its ministers by virtue of its spiritual authority, or shall not avail itself of the legitimate force of public opinion, in obtaining the support to which it is justly entitled? No such thing. The voluntary principle does not exclude this species of moral constraint (should any one so

* Matt. x. 10.

† 1 Cor. ix.

call it), which may diminish the degree, yet by no means destroys the essential freedom of a man's act, who contributes to the support of his clergy. While the Church employs none but spiritual weapons, or constrains him into a recognition of its claim only by setting the justice of that claim before him in the light of public opinion, the voluntary principle remains untouched in all its essential integrity. Who, for instance, can deny the existence of the voluntary principle in the Catholic Church of Ireland, notwithstanding that the offerings of the people are submitted to synodal and other regulations, and public opinion everywhere concurs in the right of the clergy to a competent support? Whether, therefore, the support of a clergy be derived from occasional offerings or fixed endowments—whether it emanate from the bounty of the living or the piety of the dead—whether it be fenced in by the safe-guards of the law, or may be invaded with impunity for any thing the law cares—whether or not the moral force of spiritual authority or public opinion be pressed to aid the just right of the Church—in any and all of these suppositions the support of the clergy is voluntary, and voluntary it continues, until the civil power steps in to enforce it from the people by legal or other process. So long as the support of a Church is not compulsory in the manner now stated, it is voluntary (though it may be in different degrees); but it ceases to be voluntary the moment it becomes compulsory. Nor does it matter whether the compulsion be direct or indirect; that is, whether the tax-gatherer comes to your house and compels you to pay the clergyman, by distress of goods or otherwise, or whether the clergyman is paid his stipend out of the exchequer by a tax levied off the community for defraying the public charges. In either case the principle of support is compulsory, not voluntary. In a word, by the voluntary principle, we understand, that which is based on the just but free contributions of the people, and which excludes all compulsion by the civil authority. In this sense we take the voluntary principle. Should any one quarrel with our definition, at least he cannot complain of having been led astray by a misapprehension of our meaning.

And now, having said so much, we assert two things: first, the voluntary principle has existed in the Church from the time of Christ and his apostles, and in the Irish Catholic Church from the days of St. Patrick, to the present time: secondly, there is nothing in history to warrant the assertion

that any other than the voluntary principle has ever existed in Ireland, as a settled means of support for the body of the Catholic clergy in that country, whilst all the evidence of history favours the contrary supposition. We undertook to establish these two interesting points, trusting more to the cogent nature of the evidence, than any poor ability of our's to set it in a clear light before the reader.

That the voluntary principle existed in the Catholic Church, from the very first till the time of St. Patrick, we gather from divers passages of the New Testament, and from the early monuments of ecclesiastical history. Our divine Lord, the author and finisher of our faith, made choice of the voluntary principle, as a means of temporal support for himself as well as his disciples. When he was travelling about in company with the twelve, many pious women "ministered unto him of their substance."* Sending forth his disciples, he addresses them in these words, "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses: nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff; for, the workman is worthy of his meat. And into whatever city or town ye shall enter, inquire who in it is worthy, and there abide till you go thence."† And from the history of the unhappy Judas, we learn that our Lord and his disciples had a common purse, of which Judas was the holder, and which, doubtless, was supplied by the liberality of the first proselytes.‡ After the ascension of our Lord, the apostles inculcated upon the faithful the duty of supporting the ministers of the gospel: in particular St. Paul, reasoning from natural justice, the law of Moses, and the ordinance of Christ, asserts the indefeasible right of the preachers of the gospel to live by the gospel.§ The right, with the correlative duty, was practically recognized by the first Christians, who "had all things in common,"|| and who, "as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things they sold, and laid it down before the feet of the apostles."¶ The apostles, with their fellow-labourers, were supported, the poor clothed and fed, the indigent relieved, all the necessities of the Church supplied from this common stock, distributed first by the apostles themselves, next, under their eye, by the deacons appointed for the express purpose.*

* Luke viii. 3.

† Matt. x. 9, 10, 11.

‡ John xii. 6.

§ 1 Cor. ix.

|| Acts ii. 44.

¶ Acts iv. 34, 35.

** Acts vi. 1, 2, &c. See also Epistles of Paul, *passim*.

Though a community of goods obtained only for a very little time among the laity, and each person, as before, sought his own interest in the pursuit of his particular calling, yet was it the custom throughout the whole Church, till long after the apostolic age, to maintain a common stock for the clergy, the poor, and the church, by the united offerings of the faithful, and which was entrusted for distribution to the bishops and their subordinate ministers. This custom of making voluntary oblations to the Church we can clearly trace through ecclesiastical history to the time of Constantine the Great. Commencing with bread and wine for the eucharistic sacrifice, the faithful afterwards offered other things, and sometimes money. The canons of the apostles,* after enumerating several things offered at the altar, prescribe that "every other fruit be sent to the house, the first-fruits to the bishops and priests:"† one of the ancient canons of the Church of Africa likewise regulates the oblation of first-fruits;‡ and the apostolical constitutions contain a form of thanksgiving to God upon occasion of the same offering.§ St. Irenæus alludes to the offering of first-fruits under the Christian dispensation:¶ so does Origen, in reply to the calumny of Celsus, imputing to Christians that they dedicated first-fruits to the worship of the demon.¶ Tertullian makes mention of a man who gave to the Roman Church a donation of two hundred thousand sesterces.** In one passage of his writings, so explicit is he on the voluntary principle, that we willingly transcribe his words:—"Every person, upon a day each month, or whenever he pleases, puts in (to the repository or chest) a moderate sum of money, provided he chooses to do so and is able; for no one is compelled, but he contributes of his own free will."†† This repository or treasury, into which the pecuniary offerings were poured, is, according to Baronius,‡‡ the *carbona* of the Church mentioned by St. Cyprian, who also in divers places records the existence of the voluntary principle in his time, designating

* Though we quote these canons and constitutions here, we do not ascribe to them so early a date as the time of the apostles. Whatever be their date, and by whomsoever compiled, they are admitted to reflect in good part the customs of antiquity. If, in the reader's opinion, they be not earlier, nor an authority for anything earlier, than the Council of Nice, he has only to class them among the authorities we quote for the century posterior to Constantine.

† Can. Ap. can. 3 and 4.

§ Lib. viii. c. 40.

** Tert. de præser. c. 30.

‡‡ Bar. ad an. XLIV.

† Cod. Can. Ec. Af. can. 37.

¶ Lib. iv. c. 32.

¶ Tert. Apol. cap. 39.

¶ Lib. viii.

the offerings made to the clergy by the expressive word *sportulæ*,* that is, *small gratuities in money*, and terming the clergy themselves *sportulantes fratres*, *brethren receiving free-will offerings*,† and expressing what we now-a-days call a *suspension from benefice*, as a *deprivation of the usual monthly distribution*.‡ In the same century, a little before St. Cyprian, Pope Urban, the first of that name, mentions the custom of attaching to the mother churches lands and other possessions, the revenues issuing from which were to support the clergy.§ Every reader of the *Lives of Saints* is familiar with the history of St. Lawrence the Martyr, taken from Prudentius and others, wherein we learn that the Roman Church had riches enough to tempt the cupidity of the Roman prefect, possessing, besides sacred vessels of gold and silver, a treasury which supported the clergy, many virgins, and fifteen hundred poor people. That the Church possessed immovable, no less than movable wealth, before the time of Constantine, a period when of necessity she must have derived her acquisitions from the voluntary principle alone, is attested by the edict of Constantine and Licinius in the year 312, ordering to restore everywhere to the Christian churches, not only the places where the Christians used to assemble for worship, but also other places which they were known to have possessed,|| and of which they had been despoiled in the times of persecution. In the letter to Anulinus,¶ it is also commanded to make restitution to the churches everywhere, of gardens, houses, and other possessions belonging to the Christians; and having become sole emperor, Constantine wrote an epistle, quoted by Eusebius, amongst other things ordering as follows: "All things, therefore, that seem to belong of right to the churches, whether they be houses, or lands, or gardens, or whatever else they may be we order to be restored."** These public instruments, ordering restitution, and stating in terms the previous usurpation of the rights of the Church, leave not a shadow of doubt that, prior to the time of Constantine, it was endowed with goods both movable and immovable; and that too, be it remarked, at a time when it was not recognized as a body corporate, but proscribed by the Roman law, and so had to trust

* Ep. xxxiv. al. 39.

† Ep. lxvi. al. i.

‡ Ep. xxviii. al. 34.

§ Ep. i. c. i. ex Pontific. Damasi Papæ, ap. Labbe, tom. i. col. 619.

|| Euseb. Hist. Ec. x. 15.

¶ Euseb. ibid.

** Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. ii. c. 39.

to the only possible means of support—the voluntary offerings of the faithful.

The reign of Constantine forms an epoch in the history of ecclesiastical revenue, because then, for the first time, the revenues of the Church received the sanction of the civil laws. A mere legal sanction, however, we may observe in passing, as we have already remarked, cannot be interpreted as of any prejudice to the essence of the voluntary principle, its only effect being to give to church property the same security as to any other species of property, and nothing more. Now that the possessions of the Church were legalised, the number of pious benefactors became very great, their liberality profuse. In times of Pagan persecution, as it had not been safe, so neither had it been usual, for the Church to tempt the eye or the hand of the spoiler by retaining immovable possessions for any time: the safer course obviously was to sell the lands or other fixed possessions, the proceeds of which went to the common fund for the maintenance of the clergy and the poor. But when Constantine displayed on his banner the peaceful symbol of Christianity, religion inscribed justice on the pages of the civil code: the possessions of the several churches were restored: free scope was given to the voluntary principle, by removing the restrictions which a persecuting policy had imposed on the bounty of individuals; and the enactment of favourable laws gave every facility for endowing the Church in the most ample manner. Constantine legislated in the spirit of a Christian statesman. He passed a law enabling every one, without exception, to give or bequeath to the Church in each locality whatever he pleased;* and that a provision wisely designed for the good of the Church might not remain a dead letter, he in his own person made the principle of his legislation at once a fact and an example; he erected superb churches through the empire, embellished them in the highest style of art, enriched them with the most costly ornaments, and munificently endowed them for the support of the clergy attached to their service. His immediate successors imitated the wisdom of his legislation and the munificence of his piety. Their Christian subjects followed the example of the emperors with an emulation that had sometimes to be placed under the restraint of law: they, too, built and enriched, and endowed churches; and so, before the lapse of many years from the conversion of Constantine, the

* Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. iv. et Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. 2, l. i.

Church, without ever once abandoning the occasional offerings of the faithful, had acquired very large fixed possessions, by the free gift of princes and people. The oblations, and gifts, and bequests of the people were clearly voluntary, notwithstanding that they had the sanction of the laws; nor were the donations and endowments of princes less voluntary, unless indeed it be said, that because they had much to give the less voluntary was the gift.

The ecclesiastical history of the fourth century is full of facts attesting the prevalence of the voluntary principle, throughout every part of the Church. The canons of the Councils of Elvira in Spain, of Ancyra in Galatia, of Gangra in Paphlagonia, &c., suppose voluntary offerings as an understood usage, and proceed to regulate many things on the assumption of the custom as one already well established. In this century, St. Ambrose, having been made bishop, gave his lands and estates to the Church, reserving an income for his sister Marcellina.* Aurelius of Carthage is commended by St. Augustine, because, a certain man without children having given his property to the Church, Aurelius afterwards restored it to him when unexpectedly blessed with offspring.† St. Gregory Nazianzen bestowed all his goods upon the Church of Nazianzum,‡ and relates how others had done the like elsewhere. In one of his sermons, the same father puts it as an excuse in the mouth of a poor man delaying his baptism for want of something to offer, "Where is the gift that I shall offer for my baptism?"§ and in one of his epistles he impresses upon Acrius and Alypius the duty of fulfilling the pious intentions of their mother, who had bequeathed a sum of money to the Church. SS. Jerome,|| Augustine,¶ John Chrysostom,** &c., strongly urged the faithful of their time to the *voluntary* payment of tithes and other offerings: and, in fine, we find traces of the voluntary principle in every part of the Church in the fourth century.

These facts and quotations, we imagine, must be interesting to every Catholic reader, and not a little so to our Protestant admirers of antiquity, whose eyes may chance to light upon these pages. To them we offer no apology for our minuteness, as they will think nothing useless which serves to illustrate the history of the Church, more especially in

* See his Life. † Aug. Sermon de Vit. Cleric. ‡ Thomassin, c. xvi. n. 4.

§ Orat. 40, de Bapt.

|| Com. in Matt. c. iii.

¶ Sermon. 355. In Psalm ciii. Sermon. 3, et in Psalm cxlvi.

** Hom. v. in Ep. ad Eph.

respect to an important point of doctrine or discipline such as we are treating of. But, if to others these researches appear too minute, and by their minuteness prove irksome, without quarrelling with their taste, we may hope to convince them of the existence of the voluntary principle in the fourth and preceding centuries, by appealing directly and in a general way to the discipline which is admitted to have then prevailed throughout the Church in respect to ecclesiastical revenues. Every person conversant with Christian antiquity knows that the community of goods, adopted, but soon abandoned, by the laity in the time of the apostles, continued to be the universal discipline of the clergy for four or five centuries; and that the voluntary contributions of the faithful at large formed a common stock, entrusted by ancient usage and the canons of councils* to the bishop as the dispenser; whose duty it was, by himself or his ministers, to divide the common fund in due proportions between the clergy, the poor, and the expenses of the Church. After some time there sprang up a diversity in the discipline of the eastern and western Churches, yet so as neither abandoned the community of ecclesiastical goods, nor the voluntary principle as the source of their acquisition. Till the middle of the fifth century, according to Theodorus the Reader,† not only was there in the mother Church, where the bishop presided, a community of ecclesiastical goods arising from devout offerings, but the oblations also of the neighbouring dependent Churches were all sent in to swell the common stock of the mother Church. Such was the custom in Constantinople up to the time of Gennadius, in the middle of the fifth century, when a change was made under his administration, and each church began to have its own common stock. It was a peculiar custom of the western Church to make a four-fold division of the common stock, allocating one part to the bishop, a second to the inferior clergy, a third to the poor, a fourth to the fabric of the church. That such discipline must have obtained in the western Church in the fourth century, we learn from the two pontiffs, Simplicius and Gelasius, the former of whom, writing in the next century, refers to this *quadripartite division* as an ancient usage,‡ and the latter insists upon it as a reasonable rule of long

* See Can. Apost. can. 31 and 34; Constit. Apost. lib. ii. cap. 25; Conc. Antioch. can. 24 and 25; Conc. Gangr. can. 7.

† Lib i. n. 13.

‡ Ep. iii. Simpl. Labbe, Conc. T. iv. col. 1069, et apud Grat. c. de Red. 28, caus. 12, quæst. 2.

standing* (*sicut dudum rationabiliter est decretum*). These peculiarities of discipline in the east and the west, so far from making against, only serve to confirm, the general principle of a common stock for the maintenance of the clergy, arising from the voluntary offerings of the people;—a principle differently modified, yet substantially the same, in the Greek and Latin Churches, and without doubt kept up in both at least until the beginning of the fifth century, and superseded in time (at what precise period is uncertain) by the establishment of parochial livings. Thus, we have traced up the voluntary principle in the Church from the beginning of Christianity to the fifth century, when St. Patrick converted Ireland to the true faith.

We proceed next to show that the apostle of Ireland did establish the voluntary principle in that country, and that it has continued without intermission in the Irish Catholic Church to the present time. Patrick, instructed by the example of the fathers, that nothing could more tend to consolidate his new Church of Ireland, than wholesome discipline, held from time to time numerous synods, so we learn from his life, in order “to root-up and destroy whatever was contrary to Catholic faith or ecclesiastical institutions; and to plant and build-up whatever was consonant to the Christian law, justice, the sacred canons, and good manners.”† And, as Patrick transplanted into Ireland the doctrines of faith, with the observances of discipline, such as he had found them on the continent, we may fairly conclude that he introduced the voluntary principle, which then had place throughout the whole Church. But, we are not left to conjecture or inference: we have the evidence of the very synodal canons incorporating the voluntary principle, with the system of Church discipline, established in Ireland. What say the fourth and fifth canons of the synod, so called of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus? “Should any one have received the permission (of the bishop), and should the price (of a captive) have been collected, let him not demand more than necessity requires. Should any thing remain over and above, let him lay it on the altar of the bishop, that it may be given to another who needs it.”‡ The twelfth canon of the same synod says, “Should any Christian have been ex-

* Gelas. ep. ix. ad Episc. Lucan. cap. 27; Labbe, *ibid.* col. 1195.

† Jocelin.—Ware's Bishops, p. 22.

‡ Synodus, &c. edited by Spelman, from an ancient MS. in the University Library of Cambridge; also by Ware, Wilkins, &c.

communicated,* let not his free-offering be received;" the thirteenth adds, "It is not lawful to receive a free-offering presented by a gentile;" and the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth are quite explicit on the voluntary principle: "Should any pontifical offerings have been presented by religious persons, during those days when the bishop stays in each of the churches (on his visitation), it will be for the bishop to destine them, either to necessary use or distribution among the poor, accordingly as he shall regulate. But, if any cleric shall contravene, and be found to invade these free-will offerings, let him be separated from the Church, as one greedy of filthy lucre."† The second constitution of another synod, held under St. Patrick, is to this effect: "Content with raiment and food, reject the gifts of the wicked beside, seeing that the lamp takes only that with which it is fed."‡ Moreover, we learn from an ancient canon, perhaps as old, or recording a custom as old as the time of St. Patrick, that a portion of the property of a deceased person was allotted to the maintenance of the priests and the celebration of his obsequies—the clergy being strictly prohibited to require any more than the allotted portion;§ and, lest the excessive piety of individuals might be of prejudice to their relatives, and the Church be enriched to the detriment of the community, another of these ancient canons provided against pious frauds, by limiting the amount of donations and bequests to "the portion of God," so it was called: "No one has a right to defraud sons, or brothers, or relatives. The Church likewise is to receive only the portion of God."||

* Excommunication here is not to be understood in the modern acceptation of the term. In those times there were two sorts of communion, imperfect and perfect, exclusion from either of which amounted to excommunication. Imperfect communion consisted in a participation of the eucharistic prayers; perfect, in admission to the eucharist. Many enjoyed the former who were excluded from the latter communion, and so were excommunicated, and their offering of bread and wine rejected, as they could not partake of them when consecrated. This, it is supposed, is the excommunication here meant. This canon is a nearly literal transcript of the twenty-eighth canon of Elvira—"Episcopum placuit ab eo qui non communicat munus accipere non debere."

† These canons seem to be framed upon the twenty-fifth canon of the first council of Antioch, in the fourth century.

‡ Synod. alia S. Pat. cap. 2. edited by Spelman and Ware. That this synod was held in the time of St. Patrick, is held by Martene, D'Achery, Colgan, Ware, Usher, Lanigan, &c.

§ L. 2. c. 14. of D'Achery's collection of Irish canons, in his *Spicileg.* T. 9. D'Achery says this collection was made about the eighth century, so that the canons forming the compilation must have been passed at an early period.

|| *Ibid.* l. 41, c. 6.

Whether or not these two last constitutions can claim so high an antiquity as the time of St. Patrick, matters little to our argument. They at least exhibit the discipline of the Irish Church during the period immediately posterior to his time; and, at any rate, enough of other evidence has been adduced in favour of the fact in question, to give it all the certainty of historical truth. No impartial judge will for a moment doubt the establishment of the voluntary principle by St. Patrick.

When things settled down into the regular form of a Church, in proportion to the fervour of their piety, was the disinterested zeal with which the people, from the highest to the lowest, provided for the welfare of the clergy. The native princes not only lowered their sceptres before the cross of Christ, but they also opened their treasures, and gave their lands for a patrimony to the Church. Many persons of noble birth, embracing holy orders, or a life of religious retirement, willingly devoted their worldly possessions to the Church, when they dedicated themselves to God. The rich, counting godliness great gain, were eager, by the pious use of their riches, to secure for themselves the reward a hundred-fold, with life eternal. All, according to their respective means, emulated one another in displaying their attachment to the faith of Christ, by their liberality to his Church; and their ample endowments, planted in every part of the island, remained in after ages, many yet remain, in strange hands, as memorials at once of the voluntary principle, and of their pious munificence. But to their piety or munificence, we cannot attempt to do justice, as we are not writing the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Our province is an humbler one,—to sketch that portion of Irish ecclesiastical history which bears upon the matter in hand,—the discussion of the voluntary principle. Proceed we then upon our humble task.

The voluntary principle, established by St. Patrick as the basis of ecclesiastical revenue in the Irish Church, remained in full force until the landing of Henry the Second in the year 1171; a fact which, we believe, no person has ever yet called in question. The Irish people were distinguished by a peculiar veneration for their ancient usages, civil or ecclesiastical; and how tenaciously they adhered, in particular, to the voluntary system, is strikingly attested by the proceedings of the synod of Kells, in 1152, when Cardinal Parparo, invested with the plenitude of legatine authority, formally

proposed the establishment of the tithe system, at that time enforced all over continental Europe * The Irish would not accede to the proposition, though recommended by the representative of the Holy See, to which they at all times deferred with the utmost respect.

Neither did the Irish, that is, the Irish emphatically, the natives in contra-distinction with the new settlers, relinquish the voluntary principle at any time prior to the Protestant Reformation. We shall see presently, that the evidence of history clearly favours the opinion that they did not consent to adopt any other than the voluntary principle. But, what ground is there for supposing they did abandon the voluntary principle after the English invasion? Clearly none but the introduction of the laws of England; among them the tithe law, which had been established in that country from an early period. But the peculiar laws and customs of England were confined to a very small part of Ireland before the Reformation, and the compulsory tithe law when enforced, did not annihilate the voluntary principle even there, much less anywhere else. Between the one and the other, there was not such antagonism that they might not unite into a mixed system of ecclesiastical revenue, derived part from legal enforcement, part from the offerings of voluntary piety. It was so in the Catholic Church of England. It was so in the small portion of the Irish Catholic Church within the pale of English laws and customs; but this mixed system of revenue does not appear to have obtained in the rest of the Irish Church, where we can discover by the light of history no trace of any but the voluntary system. There is, therefore, no ground for asserting that the introduction of English laws and customs into Ireland put an end to the voluntary system there: first, because the sphere of their operations was very small, and it does not appear there was any other than the pure voluntary system elsewhere; secondly, because even the English tithe law, wheresoever introduced, was not of a nature utterly to subvert the voluntary system. The history of the time enables us to advance yet a step further, for it records several facts unequivocally demonstrating the existence of the voluntary principle even in the Anglo-Hibernian, not to speak of the purely Irish Catholic Church. It is needless, as it would be tedious, to marshal together the array of facts which it were easy to collect. Suffice it to glance at a few in passing.

* Annals of Cluain-eidneach, ap. Keating.

John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, (succ. 1181, ob. 121) bestowed upon the chapter of St. Patrick's certain dues arising from voluntary offerings, as appears from the terms of the charter, which runs thus ;—" Likewise I have granted to them a moiety of the whole oblation which is offered on the principal altar, except the ornaments, and the whole oblations of the other altars. Moreover, the whole of the burial-money with the oblations presented to the bishop when celebrating mass, &c."* Hubert de Burgh, Bishop of Limerick, (succ. 1222, ob. 1250) in a similar charter in favour of his chapter of Limerick, tells us, he grants to it " all the oblations which we and our predecessors have been wont to receive in the same church on the days when we used to celebrate in *propria personâ*, and all other oblations which we used to receive there on any other days whatsoever; all the oblations of our processions, and through our whole diocese, likewise at Pentecost, retaining nothing to ourselves."† From Ware's *Bishops*, in the life of Fulk de Saundford (succ. 1256, ob. 1271) we extract the following passage, bearing directly upon the point : " After his return, there were great quarrels between this prelate and the mayor and citizens of Dublin, occasioned thus: The revenues and support of the churches in Dublin (as the archbishop alleged) consisted for the most part in the offerings of the faithful on Sundays and Holy Days, in the benedictions of married people, and the purifications of child-bed women; which offerings people made in the churches, accompanied with a numerous train, who all made their oblation upon the occasion."‡ Walter de Rede, Archbishop of Cashel, (succ. 1330, ob. eod. an.) according to the same authority, granted some tithes [oblations and altarages] to his vicars choral; § and in a note *ad calcem* the nature of the grant is explained in these words,—“ Altarage at first signified no more than the casual profits arising to the priests from the people's voluntary oblations at the altar: but at last was understood to comprehend all dues and small tythes, except the tythes of corn, pulse, and hay.” From a synod of Dublin in 1348, abridging a previous one of Canterbury in 1328, we learn that “ at the solemnities of marriage, the purification of women, the obsequies of the dead, and at other solemnities, God himself used to be honoured, in the persons of his ministers, by the oblations which the devotion of the people

* MS. Regist. Dignit. Decani, p. 61. The original is in Latin. Also Appendix to Mason's Hist. St. Patrick's, Dublin.

† MS. Black Book of Limerick, p. 58, original in Latin.

‡ Ware's *Bishops*, p. 322.

§ Ibid. p. 477.

prompted them to make." Omitting particular notice of the next century, we come to the time of Henry VIII, to whom Edward Bassenet, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, surrendered all "portions, annuities, tithes, oblations, alms, and all and every emolument."* In a word, the discipline of the Anglo-Hibernian Catholic Church, in respect to revenue, was assimilated to that of the Catholic Church of England, where, incorporated with the compulsory tithes, the voluntary system was maintained till the Reformation, in the shape of offerings at Easter, and other stated times, church or surplice fees at marriages, christenings, churchings, burials, &c. Whoever has leisure, and wishes to do so, may trace the voluntary principle through the course of English ecclesiastical legislation from the second to the eighth Henry, if he only glance cursorily at the constitutions of synods held from time to time, and which he will find in the collections of *National Councils*, by Wilkins, Spelman, &c.

In prosecuting the history of the voluntary principle, we have now come down to the period of the Reformation. During the three centuries and a half that had elapsed since the landing of the English, though Celt and Saxon† knelt before Catholic altars, many were the causes of estrangement between the Irish and Anglo-Hibernian portions of the national Church,—the insolence of the foreigner, the oppression of the natives, the domination of ascendancy, the stinging sense of inferiority. To all these causes of mutual estrangement was now added, worst of all, religious animosity, the last ingredient poured into the cup of Ireland's miseries, and which embittered every other. One only tie had existed between the two Churches (if we can call them two), the profession of the same faith: that one tie, alas! was severed when the Anglo-Hibernian Church in good part separated from the centre of Catholic unity, to which, happily, the Irish national Church remained, and remains, firmly attached. The cathedrals were then seized by force; the see-lands and the glebes transferred to the new clergy; the estates of the abbey, and priories, and hospitals, confiscated; all the possessions of the Church, accumulated by the voluntary Catholic piety of ages, swept away into the magazines of the new Church militant, and the Catholic clergy of Ireland, from that day

* Mason's Hist. Append.

† We mean no invidious distinction. Would that the distinction were only in name, and that all distinction in fact were effaced from politics, legislation, and government.

to this, cast upon the small occasional offerings of the most impoverished people in the world. But they shared the bread of their poverty with their priests, as willingly as their ancestors had given of their abundance; and, out of their small means, were enabled to place their national Church in a position, happily intermediate between the extremes of indigence and clerical opulence. Were it necessary to prove the existence of the voluntary principle in the Catholic Church of Ireland, from the Reformation to the present time, we could refer to various synodal constitutions, regulating the voluntary offerings of the people, as well as to other ecclesiastical facts of a like nature. But there is no need of proving what every person admits, and must admit, since, during the period in question, the Catholic clergy of Ireland had no means of subsistence but the free-will offerings of their people. However, the curious reader may be pleased with a fact or two in point, stated by Mr. Hardiman, the learned editor of the "*Statute of Kilkenny*," in the second volume, published by the Irish Archaeological Society. In a note, p. 49, he gives, on the authority of the Commissioners of Grievances,* the rate of taxation by which the priests were paid in those times,— "For every married couple, one shilling; for every young person, twelve years old, sixpence; for baptisms or marriages, two shillings and sixpence, and sixpence for the clerk. At burials there was an offering, which was divided, part to the priest, part to the friars, and part to scholars beyond the sea." In the same place, and on the same authority, he states,— "The friars of Killrey, in Munster, had, in 1617, as voluntary offerings, one hundred and forty-five muttons, thirty porks, besides butter, eggs, and like victuals, in great abundance."

Nor did the Protestant Church wholly forget the voluntary offerings of the olden Catholic times. The eighth rubric, at the end of the communion office, orders, "That every parishioner shall communicate, at the least, three times in the year, of which Easter to be one. And yearly, at Easter, every parishioner shall reckon with the parson, vicar, or curate, or his or their deputy or deputies, and pay to them or him, all ecclesiastical duties customably due, then and at that time to be paid."† It is commonly known, there is such a thing

* Roll of Patents, 16 Jac. I, part iii.

† The rubric runs thus, in King Edward's first book: "Furthermore, every man and woman to be bound to hear and be at the divine service in the parish church where they may be resident, and there, with devout prayer and godly

to this day, in the north of England, as a smoke-penny, a shilling for an offering-geese or turkey, sixpence in lieu of an offering-hen, these pence, sixpences, and shillings, being still redolent of the old voluntary principle. Indeed, so carefully did the conservative spirit of Protestantism (we mean nothing offensive) keep up these old relics of Catholic piety, that the offerings, originally and customarily free, were converted into an established right, and an action at law given for their recovery.—See 2 and 3 Ed. VI, c. xiii.; 7 and 8 William, c. vi. And, strange as it may seem, yet is it a fact, that the Protestant clergy in Ireland, have, until lately, claimed surplice fees for christenings, marriages, &c., not from their own Protestant people, which were not a thing so strange, but even from Catholics. Curry, in his “Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland,”* states, on the authority, and in the words of Sir Edward Walker, that, in the reign of Charles I, the Roman Catholics of Ireland prayed “to be released from those exorbitant sums which they were obliged to pay for their christenings and marriages (to the Protestant clergy); and particularly to have the extravagant surplice fees of the clergy, and the extraordinary warrants for levying them, abolished.” The same author, a little afterwards, quotes the journal of the Irish Commons in 1640; the Commons’ remonstrance distinctly charging upon the ecclesiastical courts of that time the guilt of “barbarous and unjust exactions; and that, too, for such rites and customs as had been formerly in use with the popish nations, but were now condemned and renounced by Protestants, viz., money for holy-water clerk, for anointing, mortuary-muttons, Mary-gallons, St. Patrick’s ridges, soul-money, and the like.”† In a note he subjoins, from the same “Remonstrance,” the following passage: “Great sums of money were received by several bishops of this kingdom, for commutation of penance; which money, by his Majesty’s instructions, should be converted to pious uses; not observed, but made a private profit.”‡ The following passage, extracted from the same original document, is too curious, and too much to the point, to be omitted: “In Connaught and elsewhere, sixpence per annum of every couple

silence and meditation, to occupy themselves; there to pay their duties, to communicate once in the year at the least.”

* Reign of Charles I, book iii. c. i. pp. 92-93. Dublin ed. 1810.

† Commons’ Remonstrance Commons’ Journal, vol. i. fol. 258, *et seq.*

‡ Ibid. fol. 261.

(holy-water clerk) ; of every man that dies a *muttue*, by the name of *anointing money* ; from a poor man, that has but one cow, they take that for *mortuary* ; from one that is better able, his best garment for *mortuary*. If a woman, her best garment for *mortuary* : and a gallon of drink for every brewing, by the name of *Mary-gallons* : for every beef that is killed for the funeral of any man, the hide and tallow, and they challenged a quarter besides : fourpence or sixpence per annum from every parishioner for *soul-money* : a ridge of winter-corn, and a ridge of oats, for every plough, by the name of *St. Patrick's ridges* : for *portion-canons*, the tenth part of the goods, after debts paid, &c."* Strange to say, these dues were, until lately, claimed of Catholics by Protestant ministers ; in fact, about fifty years ago, the demand was made and resisted, in the town of Fethard, in the county of Tipperary. Thus, the Protestant Church has not, until of late, relinquished a legal claim even upon the voluntary offerings† of Catholics ; whilst the Catholic clergy, since the time of the Reformation, have had nothing else for their maintenance.

Let us now briefly pass in review the several stages in our argument, that we may the better see what ground we have passed over, and to what conclusion we are conducted. At the birth of Christianity we saw the voluntary principle hallowed by the Redeemer, and we saw it ministering comfort to his afflicted members in those ages of suffering and triumph, the darkest and the brightest of the Church : from the age of Constantine to the fifth century we found its excellence approved by the wisdom of Councils, its beauty commended by the eloquence and example of Fathers, its glory inscribed upon the monuments of ecclesiastical discipline : from the beginning of the fifth century to the English invasion, we observed the rise, progress, and settlement of its long reign of good in Ireland : from thence to the Reformation we beheld the Irish and Anglo-Hibernian Catholics, in the midst of their feuds, vying with one another in the number and magnificence of monuments, attesting to after ages their veneration of the voluntary principle. Finally, in these latter times we saw how the Irish Church, cast upon

* Ibid. fol. 260.

† We do not mean that they were at once voluntary and compulsory, but that the Protestant clergy asserted a legal claim to, and thus converted into compulsory dues, what were in their origin, and by the custom of the country, voluntary offerings.

the way side, sorely bruised, and faint, and stripped naked, was restored by its Samaritan virtue and sent on its way rejoicing in strength; whilst the Protestant Church, having enriched itself on the high way to Jericho with the good things which the old voluntary principle had given to another, feigned a respect for its venerable age, only the better to secure what yet it could give. Thus do we find ourselves landed in the conclusion that the voluntary principle has existed in the Catholic Church from the beginning, and in the Irish branch of that Church from the days of St. Patrick to the present time. In the conflicts, arduous as numerous, which it has maintained against error, and persecution, and the princes and powers of darkness, the Church of Ireland always bore "the voluntary principle" inscribed upon its victorious banner; and now, in the nineteenth century, it is called upon to cast away that banner, and adopt in its stead "the lion and the unicorn," with the very appropriate motto, "paid by the government." Will the Irish Church fight under these colours? We are sure it will not.

Having made good one of the two assertions which we laid down at the outset, we beg the reader's indulgence, nay, considering the importance of the matter, we claim his attention, whilst we address ourselves to the discussion of our second position,—a position which, if tenable, must redound to the glory of the Irish Church, strengthen the attachment of every Irish Catholic to its present discipline, and increase his aversion to any material change in, much more to the subversion of the voluntary system in Ireland. Our next position is this,—in the Irish Catholic Church it does not appear there ever has been established, with the consent of clergy and people, a permanent, legal, compulsory system of revenue for the body of the clergy; on the contrary, the evidence of history entirely favours the opposite conclusion. Let us see. The revenue given to the metropolitan see of Armagh* by the law of St. Patrick, as it was called (*Rair Patraice*), was not a general provision for the clergy, as neither was a like tribute paid to Derry by the *Rair Coluimh Cille*. The tithe system is the only one that could come within the terms of our proposition; but upon a diligent examination of the question, we say it does not appear, but rather the contrary, that the Irish people and clergy have ever consented to the permanent imposition of tithes as a compulsory due. Were tithes so

* Keating's Ireland, book ii. pp. 85 86, Duffy's edition. Dublin, 1841.

established at any time before the landing of the English in the twelfth century? They were not. Were they so established at any time from the twelfth century to the date of the reformation? Nobody can say they were: the facts of history strongly support the negative. Of the time that has elapsed since the reformation we need say little or nothing, because every person knows in whose hands the tithes have been during that period;—certainly not in Catholic hands, nor with the consent of the Catholic clergy; and we may add, just as little with the acquiescence of the Catholic people of Ireland. Were they in the hands of any clergy, in the manner stated, and at any time previous to the English invasion? They were not. When St. Patrick visited Ireland, in the beginning of the fifth century, tithes were not a legal, compulsory due in any part of Christendom. It is true that then, and for some time previous, ecclesiastics of eminent piety strenuously exhorted the faithful to the *voluntary* payment of tithes, not for the replenishing of the ecclesiastical coffers, but for the sake of the poor, and the widow, and the orphan. In these exhortations, how strenuous soever they may have been, the reader will find they never once allude to the existence of an ecclesiastical precept, not to say a censure, for the enforcement of such offerings; but address themselves entirely to the piety of the faithful, the very earnestness of their admonitions proving that the persons addressed were free to give what heed they pleased to such appeals. Their language is sometimes strong, yet is it the language of strong exhortation only; and the best ecclesiastical antiquarians admit there was then no precept of the Church commanding the payment of tithes. It was not until the Council of Macon, in the year 585, that they were enforced under the penalty of ecclesiastical censure; nor was it before the time of Constantine, in the beginning of the ninth century, that the power of the Church and State united together to any considerable extent to compel their payment. St. Patrick, therefore, did not introduce from the Continent the discipline of a tithing system enforced by the civil and ecclesiastical laws, though we are free to admit he may have recommended the voluntary payment of tithes, as did also many holy men on the Continent about the same time. Nor were they so established during the interval from the time of St. Patrick to that of Giraldus Cambrensis, who came over to Ireland with the first English settlers in the twelfth century. Such is the opinion of writers the most versed in the civil and ecclesiastical

history of Ireland. Lanigan says, "As to tithes, he (Giraldus Cambrensis) alluded to Wales, for they were not paid in Ireland before his time" * Again, elsewhere he says, "It is certain that tithes were, if at all, very little exacted in Ireland until after the establishment of the English power." † Moore is equally positive. "From the same motive, doubtless, the payment of tithes, which the Irish had never during their unreformed state observed, was now enjoined by Henry's Council, with the hope that they would serve as a lasting bribe to the Church." ‡ Dr. Doyle vouches for the fact, and for much more than the fact under discussion, with a strength peculiarly his own: "The law of tythe, whether civil or ecclesiastical, has never had, either in Catholic or Protestant times, no not to the present hour, the assent or consent of the Irish nation." § To the like effect, Carew, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*: "With the system of tithes the people of Ireland, at least generally, were unacquainted, until the period of the English invasion." || Brennan says, that at the synod of Kells "an attempt was, for the first time, made of introducing the notorious tithe system into Ireland." ¶ Nor are they light grounds upon which this assertion rests. At the great synod of Kells, in the year 1152, as we have already observed, Cardinal Paparo, the Pope's legate, proposed the establishment of the tithe system in Ireland; ** which proposition, made by him and rejected by the synod, proves that the payment of tithes had not been a received usage in Ireland. Again, in the synod convened at Cashel in 1172, to further the ambitious projects of Henry the Second, and in that of Dublin under Archbishop Comyn, in 1186, canons were passed enforcing the payment of tithes on the plea of reforming Church discipline in Ireland; whence it is justly inferred, that the pretended measure of reform was then new to the Irish. Furthermore, Giraldus Cambrensis, subsequently to the date of both synods, alleges it in proof of the barbarity of the Irish, "that they do not as yet pay tithes or first-offerings." †† Clearly, then, a system of compulsory tithing had not existed in Ireland before the English invasion, whatever one or another person may have done to introduce the *voluntary* payment of them in a few places.

* *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 80.

† *Ibid.* p. 146.

‡ *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. pp. 257-258.

§ Letter to S. Rice, Esq. M.P., p. 120.

|| *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, p. 149.

¶ *Ibid.* pp. 303-304.

** *Annals of Cluain-Aidneach*, ap. Keating.

†† *Topog. Hib. Dist.* iii. c. 19.

Did the Catholic people and clergy of Ireland consent to the establishment of the compulsory tithe-system, as a revenue for the Catholic Church, at any time, from the commencement of the English dominion till the reformation? * Nobody can hold the affirmative; and the facts of history are all on the other side. Before proceeding further, we freely admit that tithes, established in England from an early date, were introduced into Ireland by the English settlers, and, with the consent of the Catholic clergy attached to the English interest, enforced till the reformation by them and their descendants within the pale; perhaps, too, in parts beyond it, where they sometimes had, often had not, the power to enforce them. This we freely concede. But, "did the Irish people and clergy consent to the compulsory tithe-law?"—that is the question. The synod of Cashel, in 1172, and that of Dublin in 1186, which severally decreed the payment of tithes, may be thought to have established them on a solid basis. No such thing. What says Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived at the time, and had come to Ireland in the capacity of secretary to John, and had borne no small share in the said synod of Dublin—what says Giraldus? "This people (the Irish) are a most filthy race; a race of all others the most uninformed in the rudiments of faith: they do not as yet pay tithes or first-offerings." † Now, when did Giraldus pen these words? Years after the synod of Cashel, and some time after the synod of Dublin; for, let the reader remark, the former was held in 1172, the latter in 1186, on the fourth Sunday of Lent, ‡ (Lætare, Jerusalem); and between Easter and Whitsuntide, of the same year, Giraldus left Ireland, § taking with him the materials of the very work containing the words we have cited. So then, more than fourteen years after the synod of Cashel, and some time after that of Dublin, we have it on the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, that these barbarous Irish were not even yet convinced what good, spiritual and temporal, it would do them to pay tithes; and they adhered, with the most perverse obstinacy, to their old barbarous usage of *not paying them*. The Irish (it was a feature in the national character), were as averse to adopt new customs, as to relinquish the

* This is the same as saying to the present time, for who needs to be told, that since the Reformation the Catholic clergy of Ireland have not either received tithes, or laid claim to them as due by law?

† Topog. Hib. Dist. iii. c. 19.

‡ Girald. de rebus a se gestis, lib. ii. c. 16.

§ Ibid. lib. ii. c. 16.

old. They had been strongly opposed to the payment of tithes before the English invasion: the high authority of the Pope's legate, Cardinal Paparo, could not reconcile them to the un-Irish novelty; and, surely, they did not become enamoured of it, now that it was recommended to their acceptance, by their good friends the English. In fact, the perpetual feuds, carried on between the two races,* had alone been sufficient to convert the former dislike of the Irish, for tithes, into a settled hatred; and this daily-increasing hostility, apart from any direct testimony of history, discredits the fancy that the Irish borrowed the custom of tithing from the English at any time between the reigns of the Second and Eighth Henry. Almost from the first, the Irish natives were treated as aliens, or rather as outlaws and enemies, and excluded from all participation of English laws; for which they applied, in the reign of Edward the First, offering 8,000 marks as purchase money: they applied a second time in the same reign, and again in that of the Third Edward, always with the same ill success. In a word, during a period of four hundred years and more, they were regarded as enemies in the eye of the law, and so denominated in many statutes,† so that it was adjudged no felony to kill a *mere Irishman* in time of peace; nor were the Irish even nominally considered subjects within the king's allegiance, and entitled to the protection of the law, until the year 1612, in the reign of James the First. Even the Irish Catholic Church was subjected to the ban of alienage. The famous, or infamous, statute of Kilkenny, passed under Edward the Third, A.D. 1367, often confirmed and enforced with strictness, excluded a *mere Irishman* from ecclesiastical benefices "amongst the English of the land,"‡ as also from the religious houses so

* Let it not be supposed we wish to perpetuate the memory of national dissensions. We only state what is to the purpose of our argument. Truth may be told now-a-days, that all may know what has been done, and good men undo the effects of what ought never to have been done.

† Stat. of Kilkenny, c. i. 10-11; 2 Henry IV, c. xxiv; 10 Henry VI, c. i. 18; 18 Henry VI, c. iv.-v.; Edward IV, c. vi.; 10 Henry VII, c. xvii.

‡ Here are the words of this remarkable statute: "Also it is ordained that no Irishman of the nations of the Irish be admitted into any cathedral or collegiate church by provision, collation, or presentation of any person, nor to any benefice of holy Church, amongst the English of the land; and that if any be admitted, instituted, or inducted, into such benefice, it be held for void, and the king shall have the presentation of the said benefice for that avoidance, to whatever person the advowson of such benefice may belong, saving their right to present or make collation to the said benefice when it shall be vacant another time."—A statute of the fortieth year of King Edward III, enacted in a parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367. 4to. Dublin: 1843: elaborately noted by James Hardiman, Esq., and published by the Irish Archaeological Society.

§ "Also, it is ordained and established, that no religious house which is

situate. § The following were amongst the monasteries wherein Irishmen were not allowed to make vows—Baltinaglass, Knock, Jerpoint, Graigenemanagh, Tintern, Dunbrody;* the Abbot of St. Mary, Monaster-evan, so early as 1297, was fined half-a-mark, because “he did not raise the hue and cry against” the Irish; Edward III seized the Abbey of Newry, on the ground “that the community had been mere Irish;” and James Lockard, Prior of Knock, was fined, in the year 1417, for having allowed John Mc Kennavan, a mere Irishman, to make vows in his priory. Such was the hostility to the Irish Catholic Church, perfectly in keeping with the systematic oppression of the people. Can it be supposed, with a shadow of probability, that averse as they always had been to the tithe-system, the Irish would now, clergy and people, have borrowed it from the English, by whom they were so treated?

But it may be said tithes were forced upon the Irish, as they could not and durst not resist the English power. The fact alleged and its proof are equally destitute of foundation. A rapid glance over the history of those times will convince the unprejudiced reader that the English, for more than the first three hundred years of their power, were not in a condition to force the tithe system or any other obnoxious measure upon the Irish nation. The reigns of four princes had passed away before the English power settled down into a regular form of government. Henry II was satisfied with the homage and tribute of the Irish chieftains and the grant of charters to his English nobles: Richard did nothing: John established twelve counties in part of Leinster and Munster;† and Henry III extended Magna Charta to his subjects in Ireland. This appears to have been the full extent of the

situate amongst the English (be it exempt or not), shall henceforth receive any Irishmen to their profession, but may receive Englishmen, without taking into consideration whether they be born in England or in Ireland; and that any that shall act otherwise, and thereof shall be attainted, their temporalities shall be seized into the hands of our lord the king, so to remain at his pleasure; and that no prelates of holy Church, shall receive any.....to any orders, without the assent and testimony of his lord, given to him under his seal.”—*Ibid.* The preceding extracts may be seen in Mr. Battersby’s very copious and very useful Catholic Directory for 1844, by those who may not have an opportunity of consulting the volume of the Archaeological Society.

* See Brennan’s Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, *passim*.

† “True it is that King John made twelve shires in Leinster and Munster, namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meth, Uriel, Catherlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. Yet these counties stretched no farther than the lands of the English colonists extended.”—Sir J. Davis’s *Historical Tracts*, p. 93.

English power at that time. No doubt Hallam, against the opinion of many other impartial writers, will have it that Ireland was, in a general sense, subject to Henry II and the three next princes. Be this as it may, Hallam admits, on the authority of other writers, that even then the native princes governed their septs by Brehon law, only acknowledging the King for lord paramount; that they justly renounced allegiance to a government that could not redeem the original wrong of usurpation; became gradually stronger, and in the fourteenth century made such progress in the recovery of their lost territories, "that in the space of thirty or forty years the northern provinces, and even part of the southern, were entirely lost to the crown of England."* During the fifteenth century, the civil war then raging in England between the houses of York and Lancaster almost annihilated the English interest in Ireland. The Black Rent, so it was called, paid to the Irish chieftains, could no longer purchase even a precarious protection: the natives breaking over the borders with resistless impetuosity, seized the English settlements: beyond the pale, the English power hardly existed in name, for out of that small district the King's writ did not run, nor were members summoned to parliament: independent tribes occupied a considerable portion of Leinster: the earls of Desmond, scarcely owning a nominal subjection, possessed good part of Munster; the O'Briens held Thomond, now Clare; and the Irish and the degenerate Burkes, *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*, were masters of Connaught and Ulster. The utter decline of the English interest is thus described by Sir John Davis:—"After his (Henry VI) death, only that little canton of land called the English pale, containing four small shires, did maintain a bordering war with the Irish and retain the form of English government. But, out of that little precinct there were no lords, knights, or burgesses summoned to the parliament; neither did the King's writ run in any other part of the kingdom."† The English interest may have been somewhat retrieved in Ireland under Henry VII; yet in the time of Henry VIII, the Irish Master of the Rolls, laying the state of the country before his royal master, represents the English laws, manners, language, and habit as circumscribed within the narrow compass of twenty miles, and the remnant of English subjects reduced to the necessity of paying tribute to the Irish lords for a precarious protection.

* Constitutional History of England, vol. ii, pp. 500-501.

† Sir J. Davies' Hist. Tracts,

The Baron Finglass confesses "that the English statutes passed in Ireland are not observed eight days after passing them:"* and Sir J. Davis, describing the state of Ireland in the same reign, says: "All this while the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, and a good part of Leinster, were not reduced to shire-ground; and though Munster was anciently divided into counties, the people were so degenerate as no justice of assize durst execute his commission amongst them."† Thus, to sum up in a few words the substance of these historical facts, the English interest, as established by Henry II and the three next princes, was inconsiderable: such as it was, it fell away under the Edwards in the fourteenth century; was reduced to the lowest ebb in the fifteenth century, during the wars of the Roses; was but little retrieved in the first half of the sixteenth; and, we may add, was not generally established until the time of James I. What, then, becomes of the assertion that the English, before the Protestant Reformation, could have compelled the Irish nation to the payment of tithes? From the preceding historical review, it is manifest they were not in a condition to force that obnoxious measure upon the whole kingdom by the power of the sword, until some time after the aforesaid period.

But, whether they had the power or not, the Irish people must have been governed by their own laws and usages, not by those of England. We have seen that the great bulk of the Irish people were out of the pale of English law, from the time of Henry II, till long after the Protestant Reformation, and that the English law was confined to a very small part of the kingdom, so that the natives must all this while have had no laws or customs but their own. And that, in matter of fact, they enjoyed their own laws, the history of the time unequivocally demonstrates. The Statute of Kilkenny decries the Brehon law, as one of the lewd customs of the Irish: the Baron Finglass, in the time of Henry VIII, says: "Those laws and statutes, made by the Irish on their hills, they keep firm and stable, without breaking through them for any favour or reward."‡ Sir J. Davis tells us, in respect to the same time, "None of the Irish, lords or tenants, were settled in their possessions by anie grante or confirma-

* Brev. of Ireland.

† For the limited extent of the English power under Henry VIII, see the second volume of State Papers, lately published under the authority of a commission from the crown, and quoted by Mr. O'Connell, in his *Memoir on Ireland*, p. 95, *et seq.*

‡ Brev. of Ireland.

tion of the crowne, except the three great earls before named; who, notwithstanding, did govern their tenants or followers by the Irish or Brehon law." Furthermore, the Irish tenure of tanistry, so different from the tenures created by English law, existed so late as the time of Elizabeth, as we gather from the history of the unfortunate Mc Mahon, as also from an act, 12th Elizabeth, which says the Irish petitioned for leave to surrender their lands, and receive them under English tenures; and it was only in the time of James I, that the Irish tenures of tanistry and gavelkind were abolished through the kingdom. All these facts make it certain, that, from the English invasion till the Reformation, the Irish enjoyed their own laws and customs in civil matters. And, if in civil matters, certainly in matters ecclesiastical also; as the Irish Catholic Church never was subject to the English, not even the part of the Church within the pale, but regulated all matters by the canon law, with the constitutions of national synods, acknowledging submission to the Holy See only. In fact, the ecclesiastical polity of Ireland was as independent of England as was its power, civil and military,—and more so. The utility, rather the necessity, of this digression, if digression it be, concerning the extent of English power and laws in Ireland, must now be apparent, as no person can, with the facts of history fairly before him, pretend for a moment that the Irish were either compelled by force or fear, or the want of their own laws, or that they were induced by persuasion, to accept any measure at the hands of the English or Anglican settlers, more especially one so obnoxious as the tithe system. The hostility of the two countries; the very small compass within which the English law had force; the enjoyment of their own laws and customs by the Irish people; the independence of their Church; their almost hereditary dislike of tithes, heightened into a national antipathy—all these considerations put it out of our power to suppose the Irish people and clergy did adopt the English tithe system before the Reformation, and give us all the evidence we need desire, for believing and asserting, with the highest degree of probability, that they did not. And, probability seems to pass into absolute certainty, when, to all this, we add the total silence of history as to the fact of any acquiescence by the Irish people in the tithe system,—a silence utterly inexplicable, had any such acquiescence been ever yielded. The records of Irish history may have perished; some, from a mistaken spirit of persecution, have been destroyed: but, as tithing was an

English custom, had the Irish concurred in its adoption, English historians would have faithfully chronicled a fact not a little flattering to their national pride; and the same motive which urged *them* to record the fact, would have made others preserve the record.

We have now set before the reader our proofs of these two remarkable facts: first, that the voluntary principle existed in the Church from the beginning, in the Irish Church from the days of St. Patrick: secondly, that the evidence of history entirely favours the opinion that never, from the time of St. Patrick to this day, have the Irish people and clergy consented to any permanent compulsory system of support for the body of the Catholic clergy. Now then we are in a condition to ask this question—Ought the Catholic clergy and people of Ireland, now, in the nineteenth century, to exchange the voluntary system for a government pension? Every national church is tenacious of its ancient disciplinary usages: they are entitled to every respect, and are always treated with respect: the holy see will not, upon light grounds, interfere to set them aside; nor is even the general canon law, in respect to matters of discipline, forced upon a national church, though it may follow a contrary, provided it be a well-established and unobjectionable usage. Who then can wonder that the Irish Church, never remarkable for a proneness to embrace novelties of any sort, should adhere stedfastly to a lawful usage which it has enjoyed for a length of time? But, when a discipline has gathered around it the veneration of fourteen—eighteen centuries, and is, moreover, hallowed from its very origin by the Redeemer's example, even a people less attached than the Irish to antiquity, above all Catholic antiquity, would not readily consent to disturb so venerable an institution. Such is the voluntary system, as we have seen—a discipline in which Christianity was cradled, and nursed, and grew, and flourished. Nay, more, if more we need say, not only has the Irish Church always preserved this primitive custom, but it seems to be the only ancient Church in Europe which has, from the very first to the present day, adhered to the voluntary principle alone. And how has the voluntary principle worked in Ireland in time past? Let the history of the Irish Church answer the question. And what is the present state of the Catholic Church of Ireland, with the voluntary principle in full work? Truly, it is such that every true Irishman, every good Catholic, must be extremely averse to any tampering with

the Irish Church, lest the experiment may in anywise injure that, the only one and the best of her national institutions remaining to Ireland after the wreck of her fortunes.

And is not the present state of the Irish Church a splendid fact, illustrating the excellence of the voluntary principle better than the speculations of the most elaborate reasoning? The Irish Catholic Church, now covered with the long gathering honours of fourteen centuries, includes within its fold from six to seven millions of devoted subjects. The bishops, closing a series of prelates that reaches back to the days of St. Patrick, undivided by schism, untainted by heresy, reflect honour upon the long line of their predecessors by their talents, their attainments, their consummate prudence, their spotless lives. The priests, taken from amongst a hardy race of people, and formed by admirable discipline, are, in Mr. Charles Buller's words,* the most popular and effective priesthood in the world; and this most popular and effective priesthood, amounting, in round numbers, to about two thousand five hundred, diffuse everywhere the blessings of religion. Neither have they cast their seed upon a barren soil. The fruits of their labour and example are seen in the harvest of good with which Ireland teems, like another Egypt, whilst neighbouring lands are stricken with the curse of sterility. The people are strong in faith, without fanaticism; reasonable in belief, without a tincture of infidelity; attached to their pastors, without losing due respect for them; dutiful to their superiors, without cringing servility; respectful to rank, despite its accidental vices; proverbially loyal, nay, enthusiastically devoted to the person of her present most gracious Majesty—the women more chaste, the men more sober, both more patient under suffering than the inhabitants of the sister island.† At present, Europe,—the world, is gazing with an interest heightened into amazement at the grand display of the people's virtue. They can meet, have met, in hundreds of thousands, without the occurrence of even an accident, and have dispersed as quietly at the beckon of one man. It was but the other day that an humble son of St.

* Speech in the Parliamentary Debates of 1841.

† "The male portion of them exhibit, at the present moment, more sobriety, and the female portion more chastity, and both show more power of endurance under calamity the most trying and aggravating, than could be attributed to the inhabitants of either of the sister islands."—Lord Morpeth's speech in parliament, the same year. The Marquis of Normanby made a like declaration the other day in the House of Lords.

Francis pronounced the words, "be ye sober and watch," and at his word millions started from the deep sleep of intoxication into perfect sobriety—a revolution, grand as it is happy, and no less astonishing than grand, its vastness, its now ascertained permanency, its difficulty, its facility—all attesting an agency more than human, and proclaiming to the sceptic that the power which once quickened the palsied and called the dead to life, has, in these our days, touched the heart of universal Ireland. Such are the people, such their priests, such their bishops; and bishops, priests, and people, are compacted into one body, pervaded by the same vital spirit, animating, guiding, directing the whole to one great end, the maintenance of the Catholic religion.

Their united efforts have already accomplished great things. Scarcely had they given themselves time to breathe from persecution, when they set about repairing the breaches of the sanctuary, and have so renewed the face of things, that you could hardly think the hand of the spoiler had been there a few years ago. Religion has reared her head once more, with something like her ancient splendour: the churches begin to rival, in magnificence, the noble structures of former times; chapels are multiplying every day, according to the necessities of the people; the arts themselves are becoming tributary to the cause of religion; the marble and the silver and the gold glitter on altars, where before every thing was lowly; the painter's art inspires, and is inspired, and the fine taste of native sculptors is encouraged, by the fostering spirit of religion, to devote its noblest efforts to the adornment of the sanctuary. In a word, there are at present in Ireland near seven millions of Catholics, twenty-six archbishops and bishops, about two thousand five hundred zealous priests, over two thousand churches and chapels, thirteen or fourteen diocesan and other Catholic seminaries, twelve Catholic colleges, from fifty to sixty nunneries, and a good number of confraternities of religious men, devoted to the education of youth. Behold the fruits of the voluntary principle. Then look to its past history in Ireland, and say whether any people should readily abandon a principle so old and so good. In Ireland, as we have seen, the voluntary principle is as old as the Christian faith. They struck their roots wide and deep into no ungenerous soil: they grew up side-by-side, under the visible favour of heaven, their branches and roots closely intertwining for mutual support: the people of Ireland have reclined under their common

shade, have gathered their precious fruits for many a century;—and sorry should we be to see the axe of the statesman laid to the root of one of them, and the noble plant felled to the ground, to make way for some sickly exotic, transplanted from the conservatory of Downing-street. But, we need have little apprehension of witnessing the bold attempt. The clergy and people of Ireland, if we know them rightly, will never be consenting parties to any scheme involving the destruction of the voluntary principle, unless the change be demanded by necessity, or at least strongly recommended, by reason of its expediency. Is the change necessary? is it expedient? We shall see.

- ART. VIII.—1. *A Reply to Mr. Montgomery Martin's "Ireland before and after the Union with Great Britain;"* being a series of articles taken from the *Dublin Weekly Register*, Edited by M. Staunton, Esq. Dublin. 1844.
2. *An Argument for Ireland.* By John O'Connell, Esq., M.P. Dublin. 1844.

WE love eloquence, even to a passion. We know that it has achieved triumphs, that it has broken down resistance and kindled dead elements into life, in circumstances in which the influence of gold or the power of the sword would have been tried in vain. We know that learning the most profound, reasoning the most solid cannot speak to the popular ear, until the orator gives them a language to be understood and a form to please:

Φωνάντα συνετοῖσιν' ἐς δὲ το πᾶν
'Ερμηνεύων χαρίζεται.

We know that all O'Connell's genius and wisdom and prudence and courage and honesty and patriotism and knowledge, and whatever other great endowments, moral and intellectual, he is gifted with, would never have accomplished the mighty deeds, which form the monument of his glory for all time, unless he also possessed the exhaustless power of speech, which, exhibiting the hue as well as the substance of his thoughts, carries the echo of his voice beyond the little sphere in which it is immediately heard, to the ears and the hearts of millions, who have never seen and never hope to see him. All this we know full well. Nevertheless when a great

point is to be gained, not by a single sally, but by persevering efforts; when a combat is to be carried on against powerful, determined, acute, unscrupulous opponents, then even eloquence itself is powerless, or next to powerless, without the aid of proofs drawn from exact data, of statements prepared with care and in the calm retirement of study, of materials elicited from many and unexplored sources, and chosen and condensed for the orator's revivifying energy to seize and mould into shafts of declamation—even as the rough metal is shaped, under the hand of the artificer, into the sharp and shining blade. And hence it is that O'Connell's eloquence derives its chief *permanent* power, and that he is beyond all comparison the most effective of living orators. It is not his humour—and who ever came near to him in humour?—nor his pathos, nor his striking descriptions, nor whatever else he shares in common with other great speakers: it is that all his bursts of fancy and of feeling are based upon the solid foundation of truth, of common sense, of accurate and extensive knowledge. The flowers that grow upon a sickly stem fade quickly, while those that bloom upon a healthy stock partake of the vitality of the root from which they spring. The pictures of the imagination soon melt away, the gush of passion is soon exhausted; but truth, imbedded in the intellect, becomes a part of it and remains.

We admire eloquence then. We also admire hard arguments, stubborn facts, exact calculations. There are those whose hearts melt in pity, or burn with indignation, at the recital of Ireland's wrongs. There are those who have no hearts to be moved; who babble out an endless stream of cold and brackish sophistry; whose lips are to be closed—if aught can close them—by *proofs* of the existence of these wrongs, and of the causes that produced and perpetuate them.

Mr. Montgomery Martin we chiefly know from what his pamphlet and Mr. Staunton's "Reply" tell us of him. From these we gather that he is, as a political writer, neither profound nor trustworthy. His venal desertion of his first principles, which is narrated in the plainest and most authentic form in a short speech of Mr. John O'Connell's, inserted in the "Reply" (*page 4*), his ignorance, his cool audacity, his bad faith, so well exposed in the same "Reply," shew him to be a person, of himself, unworthy of serious notice. But he is the representative of a dangerous class, the organ of a powerful party—of a class that is dangerous,

because it possesses unlimited means and will for the suppression and perversion of truth—of a party that is powerful, because it rules by prejudice and the sword. He is of himself a dwarf; but he is perched on the shoulders of the “armed strong man;” and the pebble which he flings has all its force, not from its own magnitude, but from the height from which it falls. It is a dangerous thing to notice small men; it makes them known, and gives them a chance of growing into importance. The writings of Dennis have long since perished: his name would have perished with them; it found a place in the *Dunciad*, and is made immortal. But many small men make a multitude, and a multitude is not to be despised. Mr. Martin’s sentiments, his logic and his ethics, as Mr. Martin’s, are nothing: but they are not his alone. There are thousands who reason and think as he does. He is but a single imp from the pandemonium of Ireland’s enemies: there are myriads there, of many shapes and various statures, but all black and sooty as himself.

With the inmates and the doings of that pandemonium, for many a year, for many an age, has Ireland been but too familiar; with them she is familiar still. The figure that of old sate enthroned there, with “justice” blazoned on her forehead, but with the bandage torn from her eyes, and the scales trampled under her feet—is she not there at this day? The slander, the lie, the bitter taunt, the laugh of scorn, that have issued in embodied numbers from that palace of devilry, are still, as of old, heard, and seen, and felt, still darken the air and sting men to madness. Whoever denies the known truth, whoever publishes a calumny, is still sure of welcome and reward there. Whoever raves, in language befitting the lips of a drunken Beelzebub, against the religion of St. Patrick and Columbkille, against the priesthood and the people who perpetuate their ministry and their flock, knows the quarter to turn to for protection or payment or applause. This has been so in past generations—it is so now. The people have changed, the constitution has changed, the power of public opinion has changed, the relative condition of the different classes of society has changed, manners and customs have changed, the language has changed, but the people’s enemies have not changed. As they were in the days of Elizabeth, as they were in the days of Cromwell, such are they in our own. Let the slave but try to force the bars of his prison, let his chains but clink too loudly, and you would have again, as you had in the days of your fathers, as in your

own early days, the pitch cap, the triangle, the blazing cabin, the hanging by the lamp-post, the shooting on the highway, the perjured juror, the bloodthirsty judge, the walking gallows. These things are not now, and, with the blessing of heaven, they shall not be. Thank God for this, but thank not your enemies. Thank God that he has raised up a man from among yourselves, who has taught you a wiser lesson, and one "nearer to salvation," than Wolf Tone or Emmet taught your fathers; a lesson that, even if it lead not to triumph (and we are far from thinking it will not), at least cannot lead to ruin; if it move not the heart of man to justice, at least will not provoke the anger of heaven. Thank God that He has raised up the apostle of a new sect—as he loves to call himself, and as he deserves to be called—the apostle of a new faith; not new in itself, not new in the great Depository of sound doctrine, but new on the lips of political leaders, new on the lips of popular agitators, new in the new light and strength in which it is brought home to you. Thank God, that the tongue, whose accents are so sweet to your ears, has uttered a truth which will live while he lives, and, we hope and trust, live for ever in your hearts. That truth we have repeated before. To be sure we have, and please God, we shall repeat it again. The great propounder of it is never tired of repeating it. He is right: and in this he shews his accustomed deep insight into the human heart. Memory soon relaxes her grasp: new projects, returning passions gradually wear out the wisest lessons imprinted on the mind, as the returning tide washes away foot-prints on the sea shore.

We no longer rest our hopes of the regeneration of our country, in whole or in part, on schemes concocted with closed doors and communicated in mysterious whispers, on the force of numbers drilled at midnight and bound together by unlawful oaths, on defenders or right-boys, on secret committees or secret directories. The day when such means would be relished or tolerated is past. Among those who once adopted them, there may have been good men, and we believe there were; men of commanding intellect and of generous heart. But good men who wanted wisdom have done great mischief. Their virtues give a currency to their folly and madness. The men, the measures, the views of the period, or periods, to which we allude, are remembered for sympathy, but not for imitation. Ireland was then young and untutored. "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I

understood as a child, I thought as a child. But when I became a man I put away the things of a child." Ireland is yet young, but she has been taught her lesson. Other men have come upon the scene, other weapons are wielded, other counsels are heard: men, but of a new political creed; weapons, but not for war; counsels which religion refuses not to sanction. There are, it is true, arms in this new warfare, there is force, there is violence. Heaven itself is taken by violence, and the violent bear it away. The arms we now use it is beyond the power of the Queen's parliament to brand, or of the Queen's soldiers to wrench from our hands. The force that is now gathering and growing, threatens not to injure a hair of any man's head, or a blade of grass in any man's property. There are wrongs which we endure, there are rights which we are deprived of. To publish to the world our grievances, to instruct those who are ignorant, to convince those who are unbelieving, to enlist the judgment and the sympathy of the wise and good, to expose robbery and tyranny and villany in the very face of the robber, the tyrant and the villain, to stamp the lie and the slander on the forehead of the liar and the slanderer, to concentrate public opinion on the side of right, to make men ashamed of the iniquity in which they gloried—these are among the weapons of the new warfare that perplexes the councils of those who have formed the plans of a hundred battles, and who rule the world—these are among the weapons which make a rampart of strength around O'Connell, more impregnable than the hundred thousand bayonets that bristled round Napoleon at Marengo, or Wellington at Waterloo.

✓ " We are not so exceedingly credulous as to suppose that virtue, for its own sake, the mere beauty of justice and truth, can have any influence on those whose only principle of ethics is expediency, whose steps have never wandered out of the dark and winding ways of diplomatic intrigue, hypocrisy and falsehood. We are not so foolish as to believe that such men are open to persuasion or conviction, where their prejudices or their interests stand in the way. Nevertheless, the very selfishness that makes their wickedness, may be also made their point of weakness. They cannot bear universal scorn. They cannot bear to have it demonstrated and universally believed that they are wrong, to have the leprosy of their souls exposed to the eye of man, as it had been long before to the eye of the just Judge. The sovereign is strong, the parliament is strong, the aristocracy is strong, the law is

strong: but the power of public opinion, based upon plain justice, is stronger than them all. No man can withstand it: no body of men can withstand it. It is not the shouting of a mob, nor the speeches of demagogues against fictitious grievances; it is not that tide of popular opinion, rolling in this moment and retreating the next, of which we are speaking. It is when they who muster together call for bread, and have famine pictured on their faces; when they call for clothing, and have not rags to cover them; when they call for shelter, and have not a roof to repose under; when they call for protection, and have the foot of the oppressor planted on their necks; when they call for justice, and are threatened with a dungeon. Clamour is nothing; public opinion is nothing. Men have clamoured without cause; public opinion has been often on the wrong side. But when real, palpable, intolerable grievances exist, when they are made known in all their magnitude, when they are seen and felt by those who do not endure them—then it is that they impart to public opinion dignity and power and a voice that makes itself heard.

“ In the good old times, when the theory and practice of physical resistance prevailed, argument, remonstrance, petition were resorted to. Of course they were. But the men of those days do not seem to have known and appreciated the full power of these moral instruments. They do not seem to have sufficiently considered the very obvious truth, that men are subject to other shame besides that of running away from the field of battle, subject to other fear besides that of being shot through the heart. They do not seem to have thought, that a robber with forty thousand a year and a high place, as well as a robber with a slouched hat and a greasy coat, though neither should feel ashamed to break into houses or pick pockets after their own ways, will, notwithstanding, alike shrink from exposure to the execrations and indignant gaze of a whole public. They did not perceive that the pressure of public opinion, though repulsed again and again, cannot be destroyed or weakened by repulse, but returns with renewed energy: whereas the man of physical force, if his first shot misses its aim, is left at the mercy of his armed enemy, to be gagged and handcuffed and hung on a gibbet. They did not perceive that physical violence, if it does not at once unroof the stronghold of despotism, can no more return to the attack than the hurricane blast that has passed over; whereas moral violence gradually eats under the foundation and loosens the stones of the edifice, until all

crumbles into pieces, as if under the invisible and irresponsible hand of Time himself. There is perhaps more or less of an *a priori* evidence in all this. In such a matter, however, we do not choose to rest on such evidence, where experience has furnished a better. To any proof from experience it is quite needless for us, at this time of day, to allude more distinctly.

In the operations of moral force there is, we shall be told, delay, hope deferred, long watching. Be it so. Delay is better than defeat. Delay is better than the crowded convict ship, better than the widows' and orphans' tears, the desolated hearth, the unreaped harvest. There is more practical wisdom in the old saying, which O'Connell has made his own, than in a whole volume of the *Mirror of Parliament*; One living man is worth two dead ones. There is a sentence of similar import from a higher authority—"A living dog is better than a dead lion."

This "new commandment" of moral force recommends itself on the ground of expediency and utility, on the principle of the greatest amount of profit with the least amount of loss. But this is the least, the lowest of its recommendations. It is a principle rooted in the very depths of Catholic morality. We, of course, do not mean that war in itself is not lawful; we do not mean that active and violent resistance to tyranny is, in itself, unjustifiable in every case. But, without launching into theories, we know that the sublime answer of the Christian martyr to the Roman emperor (quoted by S. Eucherius), expressed nothing more than the sentiments of the whole Church: *Milites sumus, Imperator, tui, sed tamen servi, quod libere confitemur, Dei.....et nunc nos hæc ultima vitæ necessitas in rebellionem coegit: tenemus ecce arma, et non resistimus, quia mori quam occidere satius volumus.* *Ph. 224-6.*

We love our country. We have the good of her people at heart, and therefore it is that we advocate what we are sure is for their real interest; therefore it is that we wish to have this great principle kept before their minds until it becomes a part of their ordinary thinking, of their feelings, of their prejudices. We know that never was the devotion of that people to Catholic truth stronger and more ardent than at this very moment. We know that never did their hearts beat with a warmer, a holier enthusiasm towards the altars of God and the priests of God; that never through these hearts did the life-blood of Catholic morality circulate more

freely than now. We know that, crushed as that people have been, with neither books to read, nor schools to frequent; the paths of literature, of science, of civilization, barred again them, with the sword of persecution flaming in their faces, if they dared to enter—we know that, notwithstanding all this, squalid, penniless, unlettered, as their masters have made them, they possess a purity of soul, a wealth of mind, a store of knowledge, which these masters know not of, and possess not, and cannot appreciate; that the beggars and day-labourers and bog-trotters, who make up so many of their millions, have a learning more sublime, more adapted to give true elevation to human nature, than all that Bacon taught or Newton invented. Knowing this, we are jealous of any new teaching that would tend to weaken their strong Catholic feeling,—that would tend to make moral well-being, religious influence, only of secondary importance, and physical improvement of the first. We are jealous of new men who would insinuate that the principles of political science are to be tested and adopted without any reference to the principles of faith. We are jealous of those who, to polish men's minds, would lop off the little delicacies and (as the world would call them) the weaknesses and superstitions of heaven's own grafting. O, we have been much in the midst of this people; we have been among them, not as artists to sketch the outward character, not as speculating upon their ways in the cold light of earth-born philosophy; but as one of themselves, knowing them and known by them, loving them and loved by them. Often has our heart been warmed to God, often have tears (we hope) of devotion started to our eyes, as we heard the phrases of religious teaching, borrowed from their own sweet dialect or uttered in it, and blended with their ordinary everyday discourse, their salutations, their jests, their bargains, their counsels, their chidings, their fireside tales; as we watched the little practices, the crossings, the kneelings, the reverence to the rudely-carved crucifix, the lenten rosary, and a thousand such, recalling to our minds the well-known words of Tertulian, the everyday practices of Ambrose, of Augustine, of Jerome—the small seeds of religion which expanded in the hearts of these great men into a luxuriant growth that spread, and still continues to spread an odour of sweetness over all the Church of God. Thus through all the words and actions of this people there runs a spirit of religion, as a thread of gold interwoven with homely texture, making their

life itself a continued profession of faith. These outward and hardly perceptible manifestations of the inward Catholic spirit, are to our eyes as the lilies of the field, to which Solomon in all his glory cannot be compared; we wish to see them growing untouched as they have grown for ages.¹⁷ And we beg to assure our readers that this expression of our wish has more meaning than we are disposed here to convey more explicitly, and that our allusions are not pointed against airy nothings.

But wherefore introduce all this about the principles of Catholic morality? Are we, then, for what is called Catholic ascendancy?—for preserving Catholic morality in all its strength and purity, only to make of it a ladder whereby to climb to Catholic despotism. We are for no such thing. We mean, or desire, or dream of no such thing. We desire no political ascendancy for Catholic priesthood or Catholic people. As for the priesthood, they have already an ascendancy which is derived not from man, or from man's institutions, and which man cannot take away. They have that power which will remain to the end of the world. They have, besides, that power which good men possess over the hearts of the good. They have that power over the people, which they possess, and despite of themselves possess, who work for the people, who sympathize with the afflicted, who visit the sick, and clothe the naked, and feed the hungry; who, to succour and comfort the dying poor, encounter the midnight storm, the breath of pestilence, the damp of the hovel, the gloom of the dungeon; whose ministry is in "journeying often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren, in labour and painfulness, in much watching, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness;" whose time is the people's, whose learning is the people's, whose talents are the people's, whose thoughts are the people's, whose prayers are the people's, whose life is the people's; who sprang from the people, who are educated for the people, who are anointed for the people, who live with the people, and who, if necessary, would die for the salvation of the people. The real, the permanent power which the priesthood of Ireland possess is that which springs from elements like these. It is a power not conferred by charter, nor won by conquest, nor guarded by the sword, nor fed by green acres and chests of gold. It is a power, therefore, which nor legislators nor conquerors nor soldiers

nor robbers can destroy or impair. You may insult that priesthood, you may slander them, you may rail at them, you may hunt them down like wolves, you may fix a price upon their heads, you may banish them in scores, you may butcher them in scores,—but to destroy their devotion to the people or the people's devotion to them, you cannot prevail, your armies cannot prevail, the gates of hell cannot prevail. There are but two ways of crushing this ascendancy—bribe with gold, or corrupt with unsound teaching. Accomplish either of these two projects, IF YOU CAN, and then indeed you may rest awhile and await quietly the sure and speedy dawning of that day—or rather the gathering shades of that dismal night—when this mighty tree which spreads its ever green branches over seven millions of human beings (who alas! have no other shade to repose under) shall wither down into a shrivelled and leafless trunk.

This power, which is little else than the influence of virtue herself, it is not of course our wish to see impaired, and, if such were our wish, vain and wicked would it be. But power beyond this for the priesthood, the power of the sword, the power of gold, the power of secular authority, we love not, we covet not, we reject, we abhor.

But wherefore then our ardent desire for the preservation and strengthening of the principles of pure Catholic morality in the minds of the people? Because (to confine our views to the present world) we believe that their only sure hopes of success in the great struggle for civil rights, rest upon that struggle continuing, as it has begun, in peace—peace, we mean, as opposed to physical violence, as opposed to violation of the laws of God or man. Because we are convinced that the strongest—beyond all comparison, the strongest security for the continuance of this peace, is in the influence of religious faith and religious feeling. We are convinced of this, because we have faith ourselves in the power of religion where every other influence is powerless for good; because we know—(we are not now talking theology or controversy, or any thing of the sort, but we are merely stating facts)—because we know that the first salutation of religion to the heart it enters, is peace; because we know that the spirit of genuine religion is as powerful to rouse the torpid, to man the timid, to combine the disunited, as it is to check the impetuous, to tame the violent; because we know—who is there who does not know?—the power of religious feeling on the Irishman's heart—religion, for which he has suffered

so much and so long—religion, for which he is a beggar and a slave—religion, for which his fathers have become aliens and outcasts and convicts and martyrs—religion, for whose sake he has, while labouring for his daily bread, produced temples worthy of the Most High, and marble altars, and tabernacles of precious stone, and chalices of silver and of gold.

We believe all this firmly; and therefore we speak it out plainly.

The topic which has employed our pen since nearly the commencement of this article, we did not, at setting out, mean to pursue farther than through one or two short sentences. We have wandered away and away. But Irish politics is a boiling sea, all whirlpools and clashing billows, "deep calling unto deep," and whoever plunges therein needs skill and experience and a strong arm, not to be flung to and fro, as the wind or wave listeth. Whoever sets about exploring any single fact in the state of Ireland, is liable to be stopped at every step by something he was not looking for; as a person proposing to visit some particular invalid in an hospital, is detained, as he passes along, by the sufferings of those who lie in his way. All that we have said has been of course said before. Our remarks have no pretensions to novelty. But, if they have any claim to truth and utility, it cannot be useless to have uttered them, albeit the place they occupy might have been designed for other themes. But we must not wander again.

The hope of Ireland, then, is in moral force. We have already stated in a rapid manner some of all we think to be comprised in the meaning of this phrase. One of the elements of moral force is the power of truth, of plain facts set forth in plain guise, proved by plain arguments, and put before men's eyes that they may see and understand and believe; and put before their eyes in different forms, that they may suspect no delusion; and put before their eyes again and again and again, that they may not forget.

The two pamphlets, or rather the pamphlet and the volume (for the "Argument for Ireland" is a volume), which stand at the head of our article, are specimens of *this* element of moral force. Mr. Staunton's Reply we had read over attentively, before we commenced our article. Mr. O'Connell's book has only come to hand during the present writing (March 17—an auspicious day!).

Mr. Staunton has been long known to the people of Ireland as one of the patriots of the "new sect," whose conduct is formed upon the golden principle of O'Connell, of which we have already said so much. His labours in the public cause have been numerous and most valuable; the more meritorious, because they have been expended chiefly in those departments in which merit cannot be adequately appreciated by the many—in statistical and financial enquiries, in drawing up or correcting or deducing important conclusions from tables of imports and exports, long battalions of figures, dry details of arithmetic, and the like. It is easy in a country like Ireland, "among a people," as one of their bitterest enemies (Lord Brougham) admits, "famous for their almost universal oratorical genius," to find eloquent speakers and writers. Fancy, imagination, passion, unlimited power of language—these are to be met with in abundance, in every political assembly, in every club room, in every school-house. But accurate, ready, extensive information on dry, repulsive, intricate subjects of investigation, that lie out of the common course of study, and patience and self-denial, such as Mr. Staunton has evinced, in working in such mines and elaborating such materials—these are qualities as rare as they are useful; qualities in which Mr. Staunton stands pre-eminent.

Mr. John O'Connell has a name whose splendour, as it is beyond his power to increase, so it will be his greatest glory to sustain. His name is, indeed, his greatest glory, but it is not his greatest merit. A feeling of delicacy ought, perhaps, to prevent us from saying more of one by whose solid and interesting contributions, it is now well known, our pages have been frequently enriched. If he were, however, merely a contributor to the *Dublin Review*, we should, perhaps, preserve a stricter silence. But we know of no maxim of delicacy or etiquette to prevent us from saying what we think of one of the most useful and honest of the Irish patriots, of the son of the greatest man now living, the greatest man that Ireland ever possessed, or ever will possess. (There are some events which one may predict for a certainty, without laying claim to the inspiration of a prophet.) Of Mr. J. O'Connell's devotion to his country, it would be mere waste of paper to say a single word; of his accurate and extensive political knowledge, the volume before us, and his speeches, within the last twelve months especially, furnish abundant proof; of his graceful and simple style of writing, we could not speak as

we think, without tacitly praising our own journal. We do not, of course, mean to insinuate that he possesses the genius of his illustrious father. The die was broken when *He* was born. But there is one characteristic of the Liberator's mind, to which we have already adverted in passing, and which seems to us to have descended to his son in no ordinary degree. We allude to the rich vein of common sense which pervades all the views of the former,—the simple, homely, and thoroughly practical turn of his mind, even in its mightiest efforts. Mr. John O'Connell is none of your holiday orators, who shoot up, like sky-rockets, once in the three months, and scatter a multitude of brilliant words and dazzling thoughts, and then go out. He is master of the great Irish political questions, in all their details, as well as in their more general and obvious features. He has evidently worked hard to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the exact state of every question, the arguments for and against, objections and their solutions. Hence his writings and speeches have what we might term a *scholarlike* appearance. They exhibit the clearness, precision, and fulness in matter, which mark the productions of those who study to know and not merely to write for some particular occasion. In this respect he very much reminds us of Mr. Staunton; and we are therefore particularly delighted to have received the "Argument for Ireland," before we came to the close of our article, as an opportunity is thus given us of coupling together the names of two gentlemen, who possess such striking resemblances in mental excellence, and who possess besides, what is far more valuable, eminence in every honourable, manly, and generous quality of the heart.

We could not, within any reasonable limits, present our readers with a fair abstract of either of these two productions, and for this simple reason, that they are not bloated, spongy things that bear compression, and are the better of it. One great advantage which we anticipate from the multiplication and circulation of writings like these, beside that directly aimed at by the authors, is, that they will help to create where it is wanting, and cherish where it exists, a habit of close thinking upon political affairs, and enable the people to give a reason of the hope that is in them. Whatever tends to substitute the strength and determination of informed judgment for those of mere feeling, in political agitation, is a good.

Mr. Montgomery Martin proposes to prove—among many

other things—that the soil of Ireland is of inferior quality; that the Irish were in a worse than savage state before the landing of Henry II., and that to him the people were indebted for several social improvements (the expulsion of the Danes, it appears, among the rest!); that the government of 1798 did not allow the rebellion to go on, after they had become well acquainted with its existence and its whole machinery; that the country was in a state of rapid decay before the Union; that, since the Union, there has been an increase in everything in which increase denotes prosperity; and that, where there has been decrease, the Union is not to blame.

To bear out these strange positions, Mr. Martin quotes history, parliamentary and other reports, tables, testimonies of individuals, without end. Mr. Staunton follows him through his assertions, his proofs, his authorities. He shows that he has blundered in history, blundered in grammar, blundered in political economy, blundered in statistics, blundered in arithmetic, blundered in everything; and yet upon these blunders his conclusions are based. Mr. Staunton shews that he has taken false tables of calculation, and mutilated and suppressed correct ones, when it suited his purpose. For example: Mr. Martin states that there has been a comparative as well as positive increase in the number of bushels of malt, charged with duty in Ireland. To prove this statement, he produces a comparative table of the number of bushels charged in England, Ireland, and Scotland. The table is taken from a parliamentary paper of 1840. He does not, however, publish the whole table, which runs from 1810 to 1840; he selects eight years, which *seem* to prove his case, out of the thirty. Mr. Staunton quotes the *whole* table, from which it appears that there has been in Ireland a decrease, both comparative and positive. The increase between the first and last year (1810 and 1840) being, in England, from twenty-three millions to thirty-four millions of bushels; in Scotland, from less than one million to upwards of four millions; *in Ireland, the decrease being, between the same years, from three millions to about one million and a half.* The scandalous dishonesty exposed in this single instance is of itself sufficient to destroy Mr. Martin's testimony in every other. We have just as much confidence in his book, upon its own authority, as we have in the story of Blue Beard or Valentine and Orson.

We cite the foregoing merely as one instance out of many as bad or worse. We have not space for more. We shall, however, make room for one short remark, in addition to the very conclusive reply which Mr. Staunton gives to Mr. Martin's inference from the increase of population in Ireland since the Union. One of the principal causes of this increase is the morality of the people, the high standard of female purity. There is not, we firmly believe, in the whole world, another nation in which woman's chastity is in greater honour, and the slightest stain upon her virtue a deeper infamy. The poor peasant will bear with resignation the loss of his worldly goods, the pressure of extreme poverty, the desertion of friends, the death of his nearest and dearest; but the dishonour of his daughter he cannot bear. We have seen the old man, who had enjoyed better days, cheerful, though lonely and poor and naked and hungry, and stricken with disease; but we have seen a daughter's shame at once break that heart which all the world could not break, and bring down his grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. God and his holy angels alone know how much of the heroic virtues which the Church delights to celebrate in her confessors and virgins, dwells under the rude and lowly exterior so often made the butt of the jester's buffoonery and the philosopher's sneer.

We regret that we are unable to gratify as well our own desires as the curiosity of our readers, by presenting them with some general outline of the substance of Mr. O'Connell's book. This pleasing task we cannot perform, not so much because we have already written enough for a single article, as because, from the late hour at which the "Argument for Ireland" came to hand, and from the pressure of heavy and constant professional occupations we have not as yet been able to peruse it with due attention.* The same reasons will, we

* Were this principle of not writing (at least out of a case of necessity), about what one has not sufficiently studied, more generally acted upon, the world would be saved a great many very foolish and very false assertions. Some writer in one of the newspapers,—with a view, no doubt, of showing off his profound knowledge of history,—complained that, in the article on "O'Connell and Brougham," &c., in our last number, we attributed the horrors of the French revolution to the French Encyclopædists; whereas, according to this sapient scribe, we should have mentioned, among other omitted causes, the corruption of many of the French clergy. Nothing can be more gross than this perversion of our plainest meaning, and indeed of our plainest words, in the very page (477) of the article referred to. The fact being, that we there expressly state that the writings of the French infidels (by the way, not merely

hope, plead our excuse for the omission of other topics of present interest, which would naturally come in here, and which we intended to introduce.

Upon the merits of the great question of the repeal we have not thought it necessary to touch. But thus much we will say, that no sensible and fair-minded man, who has examined the evidence on both sides of the question, be he repealer or non-repealer, can help admitting the following facts—that the people of Ireland are in a state of frightful wretchedness and destitution—that this is true, not only of a particular locality or of a small class, but of the great mass of the population, through the entire length and breadth of the land; in cities, in towns, in villages, in lonely cabins; in tracts of rich soil as well as poor; in the east as well as in the remote west; in the open country as well as among the wild mountains—that this destitution extends to every thing that makes the support as well as the comfort of existence, to their dwellings, their household furniture, their food, their clothing—that this wretchedness is such as would extinguish civilization and moral feeling, but for the too strong power, in the other direction, of the genius of the people, of the natural goodness of their hearts, of the principles of religion, aye, and (why should we not speak the whole truth?) of the influence of the great Agitator himself. These are not facts hidden in books of travels, or in histories, or in parliamentary reports; facts requiring study and minute investigation and balancing of authorities to establish. They are facts that stare us in the face, and stun our ears, and knock loudly at our hearts, and sadden the very aspect of earth around us and heaven above us. They are facts which no man in his senses can seriously deny or doubt. The Tories cannot deny

the Encyclopædists) were not the *sole* cause, although we have no doubt whatever that they were the chief of the positive, efficient causes (of which only we were speaking)—not of the French revolution, as such, but—of the unparalleled atrocities which accompanied it: the latter of which we took especial pains, in the beginning and at the close of the same page, to distinguish from the former. As to the corruptions of the French secular clergy, we could very easily show that the most monstrous exaggerations upon this subject are found in English writers, from whom we conclude our wisacre derived all the information he had about the matter. The truth is that it would have been altogether beside our purpose, as any one might see, who would consider the drift of our very obvious argument, to enter into an enumeration of all the causes which combined to produce the horrors and crimes in question. It was not our object to give a summary of French civil and ecclesiastical history, for more than a hundred years; nor was it our wish to publish a libel on the French clergy of the same period.

them, the Whigs cannot deny them, the Radicals cannot deny them, the English cannot deny them, the Scotch cannot deny them—but the Irish alone feel them. No less irresistible are the facts that follow—that the union was forced upon the people; they neither desired it, nor consented to it, nor sanctioned it—that it was brought about by most wicked men, and most wicked means, for most wicked purposes; by perjury, by false promises, by enormous bribery; by the sale of peerages, of bishoprics, of judgeships; by creating and then fomenting rebellion, by great persecutions inflicted and greater persecutions threatened, by the substitution of courts martial for courts of law; by hanging and shooting and house burning, and house breaking; and, in a word, by all sorts of crimes against all sorts of laws natural, divine, and human*—that the prosperity of Ireland has declined since the union, and in consequence of the union, her ports deserted, her manufactories in ruins, her custom-house dwindled into a heap of empty lumber rooms, her palaces into lodging-houses, her merchants into pedlars, her tradesmen into paupers, her farmers into day-labourers, and all things decayed from good to bad, from bad to worse.

All these are so many facts. Nor are we aware that any man, having any regard to a character for veracity, and having enjoyed the most ordinary opportunities of accurate information, has ever questioned the truth of them in any substantial and essential point. Sir Robert Peel in the course of his speech, at the close of the late debate, in answering one of the charges brought against his government, namely, that of systematic exclusion of Catholics from places of trust and emolument, replied that he promoted Mr. Howley. This is exactly in Sir Robert Peel's style. Except in a reply framed after such a model, we never heard any one of the great facts we have stated regarding the present condition of the people, the means by which the union was carried, and the fruits of the union, denied by any one.

These, then, are facts and premises undeniable and undenied. We draw no conclusion from them; we are not now arguing the repeal question. But we know that there is a conclusion which must follow, if there be truth in the deca-

* This very imperfect enumeration is founded on details which we ourselves heard, even from our boyish years, from the lips of many who were eye-witnesses to the scenes here alluded to, and sufferers in them. See (*inter alia*) the "Argument for Ireland," pp. 249-259.

logue, if it be true that a robber cannot retain his plunder, if it be true that man on earth is bound to justice, and that there is a God in heaven to punish the wicked and reward the good.

ART. IX.—*Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries.* Edited from the originals in the British Museum, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c., Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. London: printed for the Camden Society, 1843.

IF we compare the existing ideas concerning the monastic state, with the sentiments of our ancestors more than three centuries ago, we shall find that the opinions of men have seldom undergone so total a change. Then, and for nine centuries before, the monks were known, by actual, daily, contact; and, for the most part, were loved and venerated: now, they are too often viewed only through the distorted medium of romance: they have become objects of ridicule; sometimes, even, of execration. Unhappily, few have the patience, even if they have the opportunity, of endeavouring to rectify their judgment, by an examination into the grounds of both opinions. Some account for this contradiction by the strange idea, that our ancestors, for nine hundred years, were deficient in common sense or ordinary virtue; while others, without troubling themselves about remoter ages, arrive at once at the conclusion, that the monastic state, however good and holy in its commencement, had really fallen into the deplorable condition of which they have heard so many recitals. By these gratuitous suppositions, we may somewhat conceal, but we cannot remove, the difficulty. If we love truth, if we would not mistake assertion for argument, but would impartially learn the real workings of the monastic system, we must shake off for a while the thoughts peculiar to our age; we must patiently scrutinize the past, must learn its peculiar circumstances, its ideas, its feelings; thus, at last, we may hope, that the main features of the edifice, that will rise before us, will be such as was once a reality to fifty generations of our forefathers. Let us then turn to these by-gone times: let us leave the age of the Hanoverian dynasty; pass the Stuarts and the Commonwealth; and look on England, its people, and its scenery, as it was in the days of the Sixth Henry. It was a time

when England was free, but not licentious; when the greater part of its population, instead of being crowded together in dense masses, were scattered in hamlets over the face of the country. The grim Norman fortress had been deserted for the magnificent palace; the comfortable homesteads of yeoman and franklin were thickly grouped around the monastic pile. Merchants assembled in princely halls; citizens were busied with an increasing commerce; and the peasant was cheered in his toil with the frequent holiday, the rude plenty, and the cheerful hearth. All spoke of peace, when suddenly the storm of civil war burst upon the land. At once all was amazement and clamour. The adverse cries of York and Lancaster are heard from afar; beacons gleam upon the heights; the noble arms in haste; once more the lance is in rest, the moat is filled, the quiver stored. Armies encounter, dynasties rise and fall; but not till one hundred thousand Englishmen had shed their blood, did the storm abate. Allayed for awhile, it again thickened, nor was the field of Bosworth the last of its ravages. It passed at length, and franklin and yeoman, burgher and peasant, seemed as blithe, as prosperous as ever. But the palaces and castles, the hearths of the high and chivalrous—all now are silent; or echoing only to the voice of strangers. The old barons, the iron of frame and princely of heart, were now a departed race; from the victims of the first battle of St. Alban's to the king-maker, or the heir apparent of the third Richard, nearly all had gone to their account. For them there was no quarter, death reaped his full harvest. In the cities of the Continent, the duke of Exeter and one or two others, were seen for awhile, barefooted, and begging their bread. They too disappeared; were heard of no more. A few yet sojourned in the halls of their fathers; but their spirit was crushed by the misfortunes of their order: they and the gentry, that served to recruit their ranks, were alike the passive servants of the crown. Their power and influence were gone; were now the appendages of royalty. Woe to the man that dared to affect an appearance of state, to emulate the pomp of his ancestors: if he yet possessed large domains, he was dangerous, and like the hapless duke of Buckingham, must atone for his power on the scaffold; if less to be feared, he was weakened still more, by the operation of the statute of Maintenance. It was a painful sight to mark how disdainfully the monarch trampled down every token of spirit. Under Henry VIII, the task was completed: the nobles were literally the slaves of the crown.

In the house of Commons, the representatives of the counties were chiefly gentry, and partook of the servility of the Lords. Of the burgesses, many were chosen through the influence of the court; and from both of these classes the infection seized upon the rest. For awhile, Sir Thomas More endeavoured to infuse his own spirit into this degraded mass. To the consternation of Wolsey, and to the grievous displeasure of Henry, they had once the boldness to make a feeble opposition. When Sir Thomas Audley supplanted More in the chair of the Commons, the house relapsed into its former obsequiousness.

In Norman times the barons dared singly to beard the power of the king; more recently, they banded with the Commons, and proved more than a match for the fiercest Plantagenet. The Commons, on their part, had more than once upheld their rights against both king and lords. Now, both orders shrank before the frown of the monarch, applauded every word that fell from his lips, and could hardly pay sufficient adoration to the kingly idol.*

Could any reflecting man behold with indifference such a change, such an accession of power to the crown? Even at the present day, when the power of the Commons is so great, would it appear safe for the crown to have at its disposal the votes and entire influence of the Lords? What, then, if it could interfere in the election of the Commons, and limit their freedom of debate to what it chose to call "decency?" What, then, must we say of the men whose selfishness could make them the instruments of royal encroachment? Who could not only suffer all the power of the state to be engrossed by the king, but actually consented, and even proposed, to add

* Lingard thus describes a scene that generally occurred at the opening of parliament: "The orators, in their efforts to surpass each other, fed his vanity with the most hyperbolic praise. Cromwell was unable, he believed all men were unable, to describe the unutterable qualities of the royal mind, the sublime virtues of the royal heart. Rich told him that in wisdom he was equal to Solomon, in strength and courage to Sampson, in beauty and address to Absalom; and Audeley declared before his face, that God had anointed him with the oil of wisdom above his fellows, above the other kings of the earth, above all his predecessors; had given him a perfect knowledge of the Scriptures, with which he had prostrated the Roman Goliath; a perfect knowledge of the art of war, by which he had gained the most brilliant victories at the same time in remote places; and a perfect knowledge of the art of government, by which he had for thirty years secured to his own realm the blessings of peace, while all the other nations of Europe suffered the calamities of war. During these harangues, as often as the words "most sacred majesty" were repeated, or as any emphatic expression was pronounced, the lords rose, and the whole assembly, in token of respect and assent, bowed profoundly to the demi-God on the throne."—Vol. iv. pp. 361-4.

to its strength the vast possessions and the entire influence of the ecclesiastical body?

The power of the crown was thus closely verging upon despotism. Could he be the friend of his country that at so critical a moment laboured to remove the only check upon the monarch's will? Could they be enemies of their country that gave their lives for this last remnant of liberty? Cranmer, Cromwell, strove to seize for the king, while the monks struggled to defend the only power in the state that was yet independent. How were they rewarded? We speak not of motives, but of facts; and of facts only as far as they acted to the weal or the ruin of the country. The former were honoured and enriched; the latter vilified and punished. When posterity had shaken off the chains that had been imposed by the Tudors, they forgot the champions that had stood up for the national rights. Because their principal motive was the preservation of a faith that was now an object of persecution, the essential fact was overlooked, and the Lamberts and Vanes wreaked their vengeance on the monks, their creed and its profession, with the same fury as they wreaked it upon the cathedral church, or the devoted royalist.

Hampden and Sydney withstood the first and second Charles, the mere shadows of the Tudor; and their names have been handed down as those of patriots, almost as those of martyrs. Though their opposition was unconstitutional; though the former was shot in actual service against his sovereign; though the latter was no better than a conspirator; their faults have been forgotten: enough that they boldly withstood those that were deemed the tyrants of their people. What a contrast! On the one hand, Hampden and Sydney almost deified: on the other, the withstanders of Henry VIII still hooted down by the cry that the tyrant himself first raised.

Before the time of Henry, many a royal aggressor had been rebuked by the monks. Whence, then, the implacable enmity with which they are now to be pursued? Because, among the crowd of Henry's flatterers, there was one that had expressed his determination "to make or mar."* He sees that the King has for five years sought a divorce, and is becoming desperate; ready for any measure that will enable him to repudiate his Queen. He approaches the royal person, and, having obtained an audience, pours his flattery into

* Stowe's Annals, p. 580.

greedy ears. Why must his princely desires be controled? Who is this bishop of Rome that dares to hesitate about the gratification of the royal will? Was the King to forego his right in consequence of such an interposition? The north of Germany had rejected the authority of the Pope; why should the potent Henry remain under his subjection? Let him but assert his royal supremacy in all matters, ecclesiastical or secular, and all difficulties will vanish: the divorce would be feasible, and the clergy would be completely at his mercy.*

Well did Cromwell and his fellow sycophants know the character of their dupe. Not in vain had they seen him squandering, in mummeries, feasts, and tournaments, the vast fruits of his father's avarice; not in vain had they witnessed the empty display of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; not in vain had they heard him boast that he would outrival the heroes of Cressy and Agincourt, would yet tear from the brow of the French monarch the crown of his ancestors. All this, and much more, had they marked; and now their skilful adulation at once gratifies the King's vanity and love of despotism, and opens for themselves the path of honour and preferment. After forty years of submission to the Holy See, Henry suddenly discovers that he himself was all this while the real head of the Church of England.

Are, then, the bishops and clergy, that have so often stood up against the oppressor, to be henceforth the mute, passive, servants of the royal will? St. Wilfrid dared to reprove the violence of a Queen; St. Anselm and St. Thomas stood between the insulting Norman and his Anglo-Saxon victim, battling at once for the Church and the Church's children; Langton arrayed the barons against a perjured King, and wrung from his grasp the great Charter, the boast of England; Winchelsey led on the nation to win, from the conqueror of Scotland and Wales, the ruthless pillager of his subjects, the peculiar, fundamental, privilege of the House of Commons, the right of self-taxation. Where now are the bold spirits of the olden time? Where those that received with the same calmness the kingly reward or the kingly chastisement, that one day sat beside the royal throne, and with unaltered cheerfulness went forth the next to penury and banishment? Champions for the freedom and the faith of

* "Henry listened with surprise, but with pleasure, to a discourse which flattered not only his passion for Anne Boleyn, but his thirst for wealth and greediness of power. He thanked Cromwell, and ordered him to be sworn of his privy-council."—*Ling.* vol. iv. p. 178.

their fathers, were not, however, wanting; but the number was scanty, and the tyrant's measures were effectual. Sir Thomas More would not deny the truth, and the venerable bishop of Rochester stood forth in its defence. Their heads were soon mouldering on London Bridge. The bishops shrank from the horrid spectacle; they forgot their duty. Three at least were already the creatures of Henry, and heretics at heart;* the rest temporized. Awed by the united authority of the King and the bishops, the southern convocation acknowledged the new title. Cromwell and his master already exulted at their success. One great obstacle was yet to be surmounted. The monks and friars, already conspicuous for their opposition to the divorce, are now exerting all their means against the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy. In the ideas of Henry, opposition and rebellion were the same. Revenge, therefore, concurred with avarice in proscribing the religious houses. But to declare that the real crime was opposition to the King's supremacy,† to avow that he coveted their wealth, would perhaps provoke an armed resistance. It would be more easy to ruin their character, and then to seize their wealth as the forfeit of their crimes. Visitors are dispatched to collect information against the devoted monks; the nation rings with reports; and when the minds of men are thoroughly prepared,‡ a bill is introduced abolishing all religious houses that possess an annual revenue of less than two hundred pounds. The startled Commons forget for a time their usual obsequiousness: they see

* The king had already contrived to fill three sees with men inclined to the new doctrines, viz., Cranmer, Latymer, and Shaxton of Salisbury.—*Strype's Mem.* vol. i. p. 215.

† "Cromwell had long ago promised that the assumption of the supremacy should place the wealth of the clerical and monastic bodies at the mercy of the crown. Hence that minister, encouraged by the success of his former counsels, ventured to propose the dissolution of the monasteries; and the motion was received with welcome by the king, whose thirst for money was not exceeded by his love of power; by the lords of the council, who already promised themselves a considerable share in the spoils, and by Cranmer, whose approbation of the new doctrines taught him to seek the ruin of those establishments which proved the firmest supporters of the ancient faith..... With this view a general visitation was enjoined by the head of the Church."—*Lingard*, vol. iv. p. 228, 4to.

Strype testifies that the object of the suppression was the enforcement of the supremacy.—*Mem.* vol. i. p. 205.

‡ "The king had resolved now to abolish the pope's power in England,..... and therefore he ordered the point to be much disputed..... And all this the more gently to bring off the generality of the nation, which was bred up in an awe of the pope, and had a mighty inveterate opinion of the papal jurisdiction."—*Strype's Mem.* vol. i. p. 160.

no reason for the measure, and withhold their assent. They had forgotten the logic for which Henry was famous: "I will either have the bill,* or take off some of your heads." There was no further demur.

More than three hundred monasteries were destroyed, and their possessions sequestrated to the King. "No less than ten thousand persons were sent into the world unfurnished, and in a manner undone, by this expedient."† Murmurs were heard on every side. Commotions were felt in the south; in the east and north the whole population arose. "Restore the monks; punish the visitors; dismiss your evil counsellors," was the universal cry. The tyrant quailed at the voice of the nation; but he urged on his troops. They were but a handful before the multitude of their enemies, and the Duke of Norfolk, their general, declared that to encounter the rebels would be to throw away the lives of his men. Henry, however, had recourse to an expedient for which the insurgents were little prepared. He gave them to understand that he would grant their demands, and would assemble for that purpose a parliament at York. They trusted to the word of a King, and dispersed. Immediately he poured his troops into the heart of the north. Indignant at his deceit, the people again began to arm. They were now, however, watched by a powerful force, and as soon as a strong party collected, it was assailed before it could join its brethren. All opposition was crushed; and from the Humber to the Tyne, every town and hamlet became the scene of barbarous executions.‡

Triumphant over his people, Henry no longer feared to suppress the remaining monasteries.§ Another bill was introduced. It was asked whether, at the suppression of the small monasteries, the greater religious houses were not highly commended for strict regularity. This difficulty was obviated by a general charge of immorality, and by an appeal to the selfish feelings of the parliament. The King would become so rich, that he could maintain, at his own expense, an army of 40,000 men; he could thus, without asking any assistance

* Spelman, *Hist. of Sac.* p. 183.

† *Coll.* vol. ii. p. 114.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 132-135; *Ling.* vol. iv. p. 253.

§ At a very early period of the insurrection, before he had reason for serious apprehensions, he betrayed his desire of seizing the greater monasteries, as well as the violence of his disposition. The rebels had in several places reinstated the monks. "To frighten the monks from applying to the rebels, and returning to their old seats, his highness ordered those of Whalley, Sally, Norton, and Hexham, to be dragged out of their monasteries and executed by martial law." — *Coll.* vol. ii. p. 132.

from his Commons, defend his dominions, and carry on his wars, as well as defray the ordinary expenses of government. This reasoning was sufficient; the bill was passed, and the monks were sacrificed. Truly had God taken away the wisdom of the nation. As if Henry was not yet sufficiently absolute; as if they had not yet surrendered enough of that which had been won by the toil and blood of their forefathers, the Commons now agree to render completely nugatory the great statute, by which the King was prevented from levying taxes at discretion, and was obliged to purchase the assistance of the nation, by the acknowledgment of rights, and the concession of privileges. The act for suppressing the greater monasteries was avowedly to place at the disposal of the crown, as much wealth as would render it independent of its subjects. That such a result has not taken place was not the fault of the parliament. A monarch of less vanity, of less extravagant passions, than Henry, would have secured to himself, and bequeathed to his successors, an absolute despotism. Happily, the selfishness of Henry was as blind as it was headstrong. Grasping at the present, it looked not to the future. He wasted on his favourites, or in riot and gambling, the treasures of monks whose prodigality he had condemned;* wrung from the deluded Commons the expenses of the seizure; left to his successors a power, as absolute in practice as it was limited in theory; and consigned to posterity an inevitable contest between arbitrary power and constitutional freedom. The fields of Marston Moor and Naseby; the scaffold and the royal victim of Whitehall; the death of one, and the final expulsion of all the Stuarts, however distant in time, are links of the same chain, results of Tudor despotism.

Thus far we have traced the chief events that were connected with the fate of the monasteries: it is time to glance at the condition of the monasteries themselves. It has been already stated that on whatever grounds the monks opposed Henry's new accession of power, the very fact of their opposition to the royal encroachments deserves our commendation. It may perhaps be answered, that, though Henry's real object might have been to secure great wealth and absolute power, the immorality of the monks richly deserved the infliction. We will not stay to shew that if it be once admitted that the crown can confiscate property on a bare accusation, there is

* Coll.

an end to the rights of the subject. We will concede the consequence, if the premises be true; any punishment, if the reports of immorality be substantiated. What, however, was the ground of those reports? Chiefly the accounts of the visitors. These accusations have been received without hesitation, repeated, dilated, thrown into every possible shape, infused into our literature, and too often inserted into the facts of history. We need not, however, listen to a variety of such charges, they are substantially the same,—all echoes of the outcry raised by the flatterers of Henry. To refute one bold reviler, is to refute the whole class; the one whose accusations we wish to examine, is no other than Mr. Wright. The only difference between him and the rest of his class is, that Hallam, Fosbroke, and such others, specify, or attempt to specify, one or two cases of depravity, before they pour out their bitterness upon the entire order. Mr. Wright, however, does not favour us with any fact; he “leaves the letters to tell their own story;” he “leaves the documents for others to comment upon.” Does he call the following sentences no comment? “The worst crimes laid to the charge of the monks are but too fully verified by the long chain of historical evidence, reaching, without interruption, from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Those who have studied, in the interior history of this long period, the demoralising effects of the popish system of confession and absolution, will find no difficulty in conceiving the facility with which the inmates of the monasteries, at the time of their dissolution, confessed to vices, from the very name of which, our imagination now recoils. These documents are of peculiar importance amid the religious disputes which at present agitate the world; and I think that even the various lists of the confessions of the monks and nuns of the several religious houses, entitled *Comperla*, and preserved in manuscript, ought to be made public. The great cause of the Reformation has been but ill-served by concealing the depravities of the system which it overthrew.” (Preface, p. vi.) So well does Mr. Wright “leave the letters to tell their own story;” so well does he “leave the documents for others to comment upon.” “Documents,” proofs, he has certainly left alone; but of “comments” he has given us enough to be the conclusions of a folio of “documents.”

As if he had already established his point, he not only attacks the whole monastic order, but pursues it without mercy, from the Reformation back almost to the period of

the conquest. Like a true philosopher, he is not content with the appearances of things, but plunges deep into their causes. Some Protestant divines have laboured hard to prove the injurious effects of confession: poor, short-sighted creatures, through what useless labour have they toiled! One flash of Mr. Wright's intellect has revealed the whole truth; all the evils of the monastic system, of society, in short, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, are the result of the "popish system of confession." This being so clear, it is no wonder that "the monks confessed to vices, from the very name of which, our imagination now recoils." What a pity that such glowing words should have so little meaning; that so profound a thinker should act in the inverse ratio of Lord Bacon's maxim,—inventing a theory before he has proved the fact. The worst of the present case is that, not only a theory, but a whole system of facts, is invented, or at least pre-supposed. Such a writer would scarcely attract our notice, were not his work under the sanction of a society which has assumed a high position both for its extensive research and its general tone of candour. How far the former quality is displayed in the work before us, we will not now discuss; the total absence of the second we have witnessed with regret.

His charges against the monks are either mere assertions, and the letters are really left "to tell their own story," and his preface is an unmeaning isolated effusion; or, forgetting his original intentions, Mr. Wright meant to substantiate his preface, by the tenour of his work. To give his accusations the greatest weight of which they are capable, we will take for granted that the latter supposition was his real intention. His witnesses in this case are the visitors; their epistles are their testimony. What, then, is the value of this testimony, and what the character of the witnesses?

What is the value of their testimony? Here we must bear in mind that we are not about to judge the monks as if they were already disembodied, as if they had ceased to be men. We know that whatever man's condition, his "life is a warfare," and a warfare in which, with respect to men in general, the evil principle not only frequently, but almost universally prevails. In common fairness, then, we must judge the monk, not as an angel, but as a mortal; and must therefore presume, even before examination, that a rigid scrutiny will reveal a degree of delinquency, proportioned to the number of the monastic communities.

To check even the ordinary tendency of man to degenerate, to repress as far as possible even the lowest average of human

frailty, was one great object of episcopal watchfulness. When some disastrous revolution had shattered and demoralized society, the evils that prevailed could not easily be excluded from the monastic establishment. Hence the labours of Saints Dunstan, Oswald, and Erconwald, after the first invasion of the Danes; and hence the efforts of Lanfranc and St. Anselm, after the second series of Danish inroads, and the disorders of the Norman conquest. When the country enjoyed comparative repose, local causes would sometimes produce, in a single monastery, what a general corruption of society would too often produce in all. As, moreover, one generation of men is the counterpart of another, each requires a repetition of the same care, of the same watchful guardianship, as those that have gone before. Hence, from time to time, the letters of the popes, the injunctions of bishops, and the canons of provincial councils, for punishing faults and for applying those remedies that circumstances required. When in any given age, we compare the number of these canons and documents, and the number of those whose guilt is declared, with the number of religious and the existing state of society, we shall find that the irregularity is not above, but, generally speaking, is much below, the average guilt of the age. An exception proves the rule: if, therefore, we find few instances of punishment for crime, we may, in ordinary circumstances, justly infer, that the crime itself was not frequent, was an exception to the general practice: if we find that our religious faults are below the average of the age, we may, with equal justice, infer that the tone of monastic life is higher than that of ordinary society; and therefore, despite of its exceptions, is deserving not of censure, but of commendation.

Now, of the religious there were many thousands: thirty thousand would probably be a low estimate. Take but one-tenth of these, nay, take a hundredth part, as the bad of every description. Could any one be surprised at finding that such a proportion of monks were wanting to their rule; that three hundred should be bad, and the remaining twenty-nine thousand seven hundred should be good? His only surprise ought to be, that after all that was done to discover their faults, so vast a majority should remain free from inculpation. The question then becomes, is there testimony sufficient to inculpate, we do not say the great body of religious, but simply as many as three hundred?

In vain, however, does the reader turn over the pages of the collection before us. We find, indeed, two or three

sweeping accusations. Layton, for instance, writes to his employer,—“It may please your mastership to be advertized, that here in Yorkshire, we find great corruption amongst persons religious, even like as we did in the south.” Does he name any monk,—specify any monastery? Not in the least. Does he produce any proof? Not the slightest. Such assertions, then, are unworthy of notice; are certainly no testimony.

Of the remaining accusations, some are against specified persons, and the rest attack, in general terms, some of the religious of a particular house or locality. Still, however, we have no proof; nothing but assertion. Suppose, however, for a moment, that the more specific assertions are of some weight, are absolutely true, what are ten or twelve passages out of the mass of epistles before us? What are accusations against seven or eight monasteries, when we know that there existed at least seven or eight hundred? Why, on such grounds, are we called upon to subscribe to the condemnation of the entire order? The testimony, if even it deserve the name, is clearly *insufficient*.

The English law condemns no individual without sifting the evidence of the witnesses, and giving the accused the opportunity of knowing his accusers, and of making his defence. Was this done in the case of the monks?—To what court were they summoned? What judge presided? What counsel, what means of defence, were they allowed? Scarcely were they permitted even to petition for redress. The king, always impatient of petitions, thirsted for their wealth; Cromwell was his creature; the parliament was afraid to speak in its own behalf: what, then, could they expect? It was dangerous to petition unless they conformed to the royal pleasure; still more dangerous was it to remonstrate, or so much as to hint at the injustice with which they were treated. When the Act of Supremacy had just passed, three abbots petitioned Cromwell for an exemption, or at least for a mitigation of the rigour of the act: “Cromwell sent them to the Tower as rebels!”* Justice was denied; to petition was a crime. The poor monks had no refuge; they lay helpless at the feet of one who knew not what mercy was. What mattered that they were Englishmen; they lived at a time when it was treason for an Englishman to maintain his rights. Their accusation was their doom; they were condemned

* Strype's Memoir, vol. i. p. 198.

without even the appearance of fairness; without the ordinary forms of justice. The testimony against them is not only insufficient; it is *unsubstantiated*.

We presume that we might now dismiss the case with merited contempt. Such, however, is not our intention; we wish to probe this vaunted evidence to the core. What, then, is its internal character? Of the eleven epistles that contain these charges, one is written by Bartelot, himself a friar; one by Barlow; one by Richard Devorencis; one by Bydill, though this is rather a threat of accusation than an accusation itself; one by Legh; *five* by Layton; and one by Legh and Layton conjointly.

When Titus Oates began his long course of perjuries, others soon rivalled, and even excelled, him, in so profitable a trade. In like manner, Bartelot outstrips the accusations of Layton and his associates. Bartelot goes to the Chancellor, utters his tale of infamy against his prior, and sues for a sum of money which the said prior had given in bond for secrecy. It would have been well if other informers had received a like reply. The Chancellor told him he was guilty of a heinous robbery, "deserved to be hanged, and should certainly find sureties." This accusation Bartelot himself wrote to Cromwell, entreating his interference,—and why, it may be asked, did he apply to Cromwell? Did Cromwell's office warrant him in interfering in the decisions of the Chancellor? Whatever his motives, the Chancellor's reply is sufficient to shew what a living and competent witness thought, both of the accusation and of the accuser. Barlow, the prior of Haverfordwest, was made bishop of St. Asaph's, and finally of St. David's. His letter (Epistle 34) against the bishop of St. David's, while he himself was prior of Haverfordwest, is but a general invective; and the fact of his supplanting in his see the bishop against whom he wrote, is by no means a proof of his honesty of intention. One passage in this epistle shews that the real fault of the bishop against whom he writes, was a want of submission to the royal will.

It seems that the letters of Richard Devereux, or Devorencis, had not been sufficiently bitter for his employers; "Ye judge that though I have changed my habit, I have not changed my friar's heart: good, my lord, judge me not so, for God shall be my judge, my friar's heart was gone two years before my habit. . . . I feared that if I were too quick, I should offend your lordship, the which I would not by my will for all that I am able to make in the world." The

readiness with which he gives proof of this desire, is actually ridiculous. In his former letters he uttered nothing against the monks but a few words of their "superstition and hypocrisy." Now, however, he amply atones for past deficiencies; immorality, brawls, bloodshed, every demon of evil is conjured up at once before his excited fancy. The poor wretch! Pity that he was unable, like more experienced villains, to conceal his purpose beneath an affectation of good.

Layton seems to have been the life and soul of the visitors. Calling at a nunnery, on his way to Lichfield, he was refused admittance in his character of visitor. He persisted; and made an unmanly attack on the character of the inmates. Pretending to disbelieve their asseverations, he made them swear to their innocence. Though his accusations were founded only on the assertion, according to his own words, of "one old beldame," he continued to insult the poor creatures, till by threatening to punish them for perjury, he terrified the prioress into excuses, which he afterwards construed into an admission of guilt. (Ep. 42.) In the same epistle, imputations are raised against the nuns of another convent, and then follows the probable reason of the accusation; a complaint that they had sealed a deed in favour of Sir John Mordaunt, by which it seems the visitors' seizure and profit would be somewhat diminished. This contains as much evil of the religious as nearly all his other letters. Before he closes, he deals out a complaint that "the abbey here" (at Newark) "is confederate, we suppose, and nothing will confess. The abbot is an honest man, and doth very well, but he hath here the most obstinate and factious canons that ever I knew." In other words, the abbot had yielded, while the rest of the community stood firm. As usual, the unmanageable canons are rewarded with a sweeping accusation, "which," adds the writer, "I have learned of others (but not of any of them): what I shall find I cannot tell." In this one epistle, and in these accusations, are comprised the results of an expedition among the convents, the whole way from London to Lichfield. Legh and Layton, it must be observed, were companions in this profitable visitation. When they arrived at the rich and magnificent Abbey of Fountains, they accused the abbot, as, in the early part of their journey, they had accused the nuns. When the abbot took the oath that their accusations were false, they, according to their usual plan, accused him of perjury. An account of these charges they send to Cromwell, accompanied with the singular accusation

that the abbot had stolen from his own church, and with the intelligence that in consequence of this crime they had stripped him of his dignity.* Much light is thrown upon the whole transaction by the closing part of the letter. A monk, possessing a good prebend, had offered, if they would choose him abbot, to pay down at once six hundred marks, and, within three years, to pay the whole of the first fruits, amounting to no less than a thousand pounds. Is there nothing suspicious in all this? Does it seem to bear the impress of straightforward, disinterested honesty? They had already deposed the abbot, and the candidate was "rich!"

In letter 26th, Legh informs Cromwell that a prior, a very aged man, had refused to surrender his monastery. "All the country," continues the writer, "maketh exclamations of this abbot of Rivaux, upon his abominable living, and extortions by him committed, also many wrongs to divers miserable persons done." It is singular to observe how regularly these accusations are heaped upon any one that dares to stand unshrinkingly at his post. Of this, Bydell's letter is a yet stronger illustration. He writes that the inmates of Sion convent "stood stiff in their obstinacy." The queen's almoner and many doctors, sent by Henry himself, had vainly endeavoured to persuade them to acknowledge the royal supremacy. "I handled," says the writer; "I handled Whitford after that in the garden, both with fair words and with foul, and shewed that through his obstinacy he should be brought to the great shame of the world," &c. (Ep. 18.) "Foul," indeed! To strive to sway his conscience to the king's purposes, by the threat of publishing certain improper conversations in the confessional! A subsequent passage, in the same epistle, shows what Bydell and his employers really dreaded in the confessional: "We would fain know your advice what we shall do with *Whitford*, and *Littell*, and a lay-brother, one *Turnington*, which is very *sturdy against the king's title*. We have sequestered *Whitford* and *Lyttell* from hearing of the ladies' confessions; and we think it best that the places where these friars have been wont to hear outward confession

* "Thus the stiffness of the abbot of Fountains, in Yorkshire, is said to have brought the storm upon him. The commissioners drew up a charge against him, for taking some jewels belonging to the monastery into his custody. This, by an unusual rigour of expression, was called theft and sacrilege. In short, he was pronounced perjured, deposed, and had a private resignation wrested from him. These instances of hardship will run harder by and bye," &c.—*Collier*, vol. ii. p. 159.

of all comers, at certain times of the year, be walled up, and that use to be foredone for ever, for that hearing of outward confessions hath been the cause of much evil, and of much treason, which hath been sowed abroad in this matter of the king's title, and also in the king's grace's matter of his succession and marriage." (Ep. 18.) "With fair words and with foul!" defamation is the penalty of resistance!

Are these then the accusers of the monks: these that so grossly tampered with men's feelings and consciences; who, when their fair words, their flatteries and bribes had failed, assumed the tone of menace, the foul threat, the abominable accusation? Not only are their assertions insufficient and unsubstantiated; but from all accompanying circumstances, it is plain, that if not absolutely false, they are at least extremely doubtful.

The examination of these charges has revealed the character of the accusers in no creditable light. Let us see how far this view is confirmed by more positive testimony. Cromwell, Audley, and other great officers, did not forget to secure for themselves and their friends a large share of the monastic property.* If the vicar-general then could stoop to such expedencies, is it likely that men of inferior station and education, men of no high integrity of character, should not readily imitate so profitable an example? Well might they fear that people would attribute their destruction of altars, not to zeal for overthrowing idolatry, but to the desire of wealth. That their thoughts were more intent on such acquisitions than they wished men to imagine, may be surmised from the acknowledgment of Barlow. He had entered a canon's house, and, without any authority, had carried off his chests of money and plate. His excuse was, that the friends of the canon were raising the country against him. Good reason had he to say, "unless your good lordships be my favourable defence in right, I shall not escape confusion." (p. 108.) From the same letter (p. 192) it appears that after various charges and examinations; after being, in some instances, told that they should be thrust out "in spite of their teeth," the poor monks were obliged to defray the expenses of the visitors, and to reward their exertions with a contribution of money!

Dr. London was another of the visitors: of this Dr. Lon-

* Pp. 158, 240, 252, &c.; Noble's Mem. H. of Crom. vol. i. p. 9; Collier's Records, vol. ii. No. 42.

don, Fuller says, "he was no great saint; for afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse-tail at Windsor and Ockingham, (p. 314), to which may be added, that he was compelled to do public penance at Oxford, for incontinency, (*Strype*, i. 377)."^{*} To this may be added, that Collier mentioning the general character of the visitors, describes them as men of "mercenary character," astonishing Europe "by their profane scrambling."[†]

That these men were the devoted creatures of the court; that in their eyes all opposition to the king's measures were a crime, and servile compliance a redeeming virtue, is evident from the general tone of their epistles. The same spirit taught them to narrate the sufferings of the monks, with the most heartless indifference. Richard Dovorensis goes by way of Northampton, Warwick, and Gloucester, to Wales. From his letters, it appears that many of the religious houses had refused to surrender, and being deprived of their ordinary means of livelihood, were actually reduced to the verge of starvation. "In every place," write the visitors, "in every place, is poverty and much shift made, with such as they had before, as jewels, sales, and other shifts, by leases. But in all these places *I have set stays* by indentures making; and the common seals sequestering, so that now they have no shift to make; so that I think before the year be out, there shall be very few houses *able to live*, but shall be glad to give up their and provide for themselves otherwise, for *there they shall have no living*." (pp. 193 and 194). A letter from Bydell breathes the same spirit: "My very good lord, after most hearty commendations, it shall please your lordship to understand, that the monks at the Charter-house here at London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour, long time continued against the king's grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God," &c. (p. 162.) The men, whose sufferings he designates the afflictions of Providence, had been incarcerated in Newgate for denying the king's supremacy; several had already been executed for this offence; of the rest, the greater part, like many of their brethren, died in prison of hardship and famine.

On the one hand, then, the visitors were in some cases convicted, in many suspected, of practices to which no up-

^{*} Ling. vol. iv. p. 258.

[†] Vol. ii. pp. 155 and 160.

right man would stoop: they are "mercenary" wretches, "scrambling" at whatever they can reach. All their gains, however, depend on the continuance of their employments: hence their unbounded servility; hence their adoption of such language, as would suit the taste both of Henry and Cromwell. Every act of remonstrance they brand as treason; every injury they inflict on monks, is the merited chastisement of rebels. On the other hand, "the king's passions ran so strong for a dissolution, that he would scarce endure the report of a fair character given the religious."* What can we expect from this combination of passion and power, interest and servility? When the king cannot endure to hear "a fair character" of the religious, and those that have to depose against them, have no fear of examination or punishment, how can we trust such depositions? how can we trust the man who places them before the public as incontestible truths, without a word of the real value of their contents?

Let us now, for a moment, glance at the result of our scrutiny. Were this testimony supposed to be proved, it would yet be insufficient to criminate the great body of the monks. It is, however, not proved; and is accompanied with circumstances that render it doubtful, and probably false. All the power of the crown, all that the ability of ministers, all that the selfishness of unprincipled visitors could devise, was employed to set monk against monk, to rouse informers, to encourage envious neighbours, that the evil deeds of the religious might be published, and their profession covered with infamy. Some few unproved and very suspicious declarations is the only result. Could there be a greater proof of the innocence, and even of the sanctity, of the monks?†

Can any one, then, be surprised that those that know the real value of these epistles should be indignant at the deceit

* Collier, vol. ii. p. 156.

† The charges of superstition are of the same nature, and of the same value, as those of immorality: they are thus answered by Collier: "The king having the dissolution of the remaining monasteries in view, thought it necessary to lessen their reputation, to lay open the superstition of their worship, and draw a charge of imposture upon some of them." After an account of the false miracles, Collier proceeds: "But whether the impostures above-mentioned are matters of fact, will be a question. For William Thomas, cited by the Lord Herbert, is somewhat a questionable authority. He wrote the book called 'Il Pelerin Inglese,' in justification of King Henry's proceedings; but by the account he gives of Archbishop Becket, 'tis plain he was either biassed or grossly mistaken." —p. 149.

imposed upon the public; as well as at the gratuitous insult in which Mr. Wright has indulged, not only against the conduct, but against the religion, of the unoffending monks? As soon as the work became known, the following communications took place between the Catholic members, and the council, of the Camden Society.

No. I.

"61, New Bond Street, March 4th, 1844.

"SIR,—I have been instructed by the gentlemen, who have signed the accompanying protest, to send it to you, as the secretary of the Society, in order that it may be laid before the council.

"In the event of any communication in reply, being made thereto, you will oblige by forwarding it through my hands.

"I am, Sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

"CHARLES DOLMAN.

"To W. THOMS, Esq. Secretary."

No. II.

"To the President and Council of the Camden Society.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—as members at once of the Catholic Church, and of that society of which you are the existing council, we respectfully beg to call your attention to the insult offered to us and to the religion which we profess, in the last work published by the society. We allude to the '*Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*,' edited by MR. WRIGHT; but more particularly to the insulting preface which that gentleman has been suffered to introduce and recommend the *Letters* to the notice of the public.

"As our business is not with MR. WRIGHT, so it is not our intention to enter into any discussion of the merits or demerits of MR. WRIGHT's editorial labours. Had his book been published under his own auspices, it might safely have remained unnoticed; but coming forth, as it does, under the sanction of the Camden Society, it assumes an importance which it could not otherwise have attained, and we feel, therefore, as the lamented editor of the '*Chronicle of Josceline*' would have felt, that we have a right to complain of those who, permitting a body of interested and *ex parte* statements, 'swelled' as Collier acknowledges, 'beyond truth and proportion,' to be published and vouched for as undoubted illustrations of the imputed immorality of our religious system, have suffered the funds and influence of the society to be employed in inflicting injury and insult to its own members.

"Nor is it solely in the character of religionists that we deem it right to enter our solemn protest against the late publication. The interests of the society itself require that such matters should be carefully excluded from its productions. Religious controversy,

and, above all, religious invective and vulgar calumny, are about the last things to strengthen the existence of a literary association. The attack, permitted on one side, must be expected to be repelled from the other. Dissension and division thus succeed to community of purpose, and the strength, that might have been usefully employed in the diffusion of knowledge, is expended only in gratifying the little passions of angry and bigoted partizans.

"On these grounds, then, we must again protest against the publication to which we have alluded. We protest against it, as insulting to ourselves as members of the society; and we protest against it, as establishing a precedent, which may be subversive not only of the interests, but also of the existence, of the Society itself.

(Signed),

"Shrewsbury; John Lingard; M. A. Tierney; Charles Towneley; George Oliver; Daniel Rock; William Constable Maxwell; Joseph Francis Tempest; C. P. A. Comberbach; W. B. D. D. Turnbull; Richard W. Fitzpatrick; T. Chisholme Anstey, Middle Temple; John Francis Wright, Kelvedon Hall; John Towneley; Charles Dolman."

No. III.

"Camden Society, No. 25, Parliament Street,
"March 8th, 1844.

"SIR,—I laid before the Council of the Camden Society, at their monthly meeting on Wednesday last, the protest forwarded to me in your letter of the 4th instant, when the council directed me to acquaint you, for the information of the gentlemen by whom such protest was signed, that in accordance with the subjoined resolution (No. 1), it is the ordinary practice of the council to inspect and sanction the prefaces of all the books issued by them; and that to secure to the council the opportunity of considering the prefaces, the subjoined resolutions, (Nos. 2 and 3), were come to on the 9th day of November, 1839.

The council regret that, in the instance referred to in the protest, the above resolutions were waived, (as has been the case in some few former instances,) in order to expedite the publication of the book—a considerable period having elapsed since the delivery of the last preceding volume, and it being thought desirable that, if possible, the next work should be issued without the intervention of another month's delay.

"The council have desired me to add, that the present case will render them more careful in rescinding those resolutions in future.

"I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"WILLIAM J. THOMS, Secretary.

"TO CHARLES DOLMAN, ESQ."

"Resolution No. 1.—That the sheets of all the works in progress should be laid before the council from time to time, and that their attention should be called to the same, with the view of their suggesting such alterations as they may deem expedient, and that the prefaces more particularly should not be worked off until they have received the sanction of the council.

"No. 2.—That at the meeting of the council six copies of the prefaces and introductions, instead of one, be laid upon the table, and that any member attending be at liberty to take one away.

"No. 3.—That for a week after the meeting at which any preface or introduction is laid upon the table, the same be not worked off, but Mr. Nichols is to be at liberty to work it off at the end of that time, unless he receives a written request from a member of the council to postpone the working of it off until the next meeting of the council."

"No. IV.

"61, New Bond-street, March 16th, 1844.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, and in reply thereto I have to state, that as a matter of propriety, and with a view to vindicate the character of the council of the society, it is the intention of the gentlemen who signed the protest, to take measures for making public both the protest and the reply.

"I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"CHARLES DOLMAN.

"W. J. THOMS, Esq., Secretary."

Though, in the visitors and their testimony, we possess no real evidence of the state of the monasteries; though the charters and records of the monks have fallen into the hands of their enemies, and in great measure have perished; yet we have an evidence most trustworthy and most conclusive. The ruthless disposer of his subjects' rights, had sent his creatures to every part of the land, to heap disgrace upon the monks that dared to oppose his will; the people stood up in defiance of the king, and told the hateful truth, that the most zealous of his creatures were guilty of extortion and bribery; that the monks were the benefactors of the nation, the beloved, the venerated, in whose cause they were willing to shed their blood.*

Well might the people utter their indignant protest. But a short time before, seven hundred religious houses existed. They were the living monuments of England's history: grey

* Coll. vol. ii. p. 135.

and ponderous, some of them told of the Anglo-Saxon times, and shewed their charters and manuscripts, gorgeously illuminated, and written in a language that had passed away. Edifices more stately, but almost equally venerable, told of the victorious Normans, and told, too, how the iron baron had learned to weep over the ruin which he had caused, and to raise an atoning monument to the religion of peace; fabrics vast and magnificent, whose light and graceful proportions, upborne by lofty aerial arches, told of a time when conflicting races sat around the same hearth, when odious distinctions of blood and privilege were lost, and commerce and the arts were developing their energies, conferring comfort upon man, and glory upon religion. In whatever age they might have been erected, their object was one. They were the retreats of learned, as well as religious, meditation. Those that had become disgusted with the duplicity and wickedness of the world, withdrew thither to heal their wounded bosoms; and those that, at the very dawn of manhood, had renounced a world which they knew to be the enemy of innocence, found there the shelter for which they longed, where they could fix their thoughts on the eternal years, and calmly await their summons to their everlasting home. Amid his varied duties, his devotions, and his employment of transcribing or teaching, the contemplative man yet found time to soar heavenward without restraint, and the student space enough for laborious investigation. There an Anselm had plunged into the abstrusest knowledge; there had a William of Malmesbury recorded the fortunes of his country; there had a Roger Bacon delighted in the wonders of experimental philosophy.

Around these seats of learning and religion, many a flourishing community had arisen, where artisans of every grade found encouragement and profit;* and around them, too, were lands, tenanted by men whose light rents and easy tenures allowed them to grow in plenty and opulence; and peopled by a peasantry who were linked to their masters, and to the upper classes generally, by many a scene of hearty hospitality and amusement, and who had learned to bless the kindness that left free to their use a large portion of the monastic domain. While the new nobility, regarding their estates only as a means of profit, were engaged in expelling

* At the suppression of the lesser monasteries, "it was thought more than ten thousand persons, masters and servants, had lost their living by the pulling down of those houses."—*Stowe's Ann.* p. 571. What must have been the result then of the suppression of every monastery in the country?

the peasantry, and turning their lands into sheep-walks; the monasteries, steadily pursuing their ancient path, preserved for awhile the comfort and independence of the poor but brave men, that were the safe-guard of England, and the terror of its enemies. Standing thus, amid well-peopled, well-cultivated, spots, the monasteries were the joy of the traveller. He might come with a gallant train, he might have trudged alone his weary, nightly, path; no matter, he was sure of a welcome, sure of shelter and refreshment.

But the mandate has gone forth, the devout contemplative, the zealous student, the good landlord,* the teacher of youth, the feeder of the poor, is to be driven from the land. Even political economists have learned to appreciate the religious element: it is now to be plucked forth. Neither the voice of learning nor the cry of the poor can stay the ruthless hand. The men of the court grasp at the prize: the libraries of the monks are scattered,† and their noble edifices sink in ruin. The tenantry find the rents increase, the peasants are driven from the common lands which they before enjoyed. Discontent breaks forth into rebellion, and sullenly subsides into the depths of society. Poverty increases; and what charity refuses, is now chiefly wrung from the hard earnings of the middle classes. Before 1840, the poor-rates had risen to five, six, and even seven millions per annum. Its pressure has of late increased to an alarming extent. Incendiarism, popular commotion, checked for awhile, and again appearing, sternly announce the deep-rooted evils of society. Government avows its alarm. Lord Ashley

* "The religious were far from making the most of their property, and straining the farms to rack rents. On the contrary, they granted leases to laymen upon small rents and gentle fines." Yet, "the monks are known to have made the most of their farms, which they kept in their own hands. Neither were they at all defective in the serviceableness of buildings and other improvements." *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 108.

† "When the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them to waste paper." (*Collier*, vol. ii. p. 166.) In the same page *Collier* quotes the following passage from John Bale, the Centurist, "a man remarkably averse to popery and the monastic institution:" "Some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole shipsfull..... I know a merchantman...that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of grey paper, by the space of more than ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come." (p. 166.) *Collier* then proceeds: "Fuller complains that all arts and sciences fell under this common calamity.....If a book had a cross on it, it was condemned for popery, and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroyed for conjuring."—p. 166.

discloses the degradation, moral and physical, of the manufacturing population; Osborne reveals the equally frightful condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry; and their statements are fully corroborated by those of the government commissioners, and of many local magistrates. The multitude of those that are grossly ignorant of the first principles of religion, as well as of their respective social duties, is enormous; the pressure of bodily want is absolutely shocking. Whether we look into the cellars of Manchester, or the crowded huts of Dorsetshire, we are sickened with the all but universal combination of poverty, immorality, and bitter discontent.

Four centuries ago, the nobles massacred one another in civil war: the people joined in the contest; then returned to their employments, and prospered as before. What, if the upper ranks of society were now to draw the sword? Would the masses, once armed, once disciplined, sit down contentedly at the bidding of their chiefs? There has been a change; a great and fearful change. But whence? We do not mean to deny that it is the result of many causes; but certain it is, that within the last three hundred years, there has not been so great, so violent, a change as in the suppression of the monasteries; and it is almost equally certain, that the poverty and moral degradation of the lower classes can, in a great measure, be traced to no other cause. It is, moreover, generally acknowledged that the present evils arise from privation and want of religious principle. This, also, even more clearly than the former, can be traced to the same period; and it is undeniable that the monks were the teachers, as well as the feeders, of the poor.

We leave the reader, then, to draw his own conclusion: to say whether the suppression of the monasteries was just, to say whether it was really for the benefit of his country. It has been said, with truth and deep meaning, England was "merry England then:" too truly, it is such no longer.*

* We hail, as harbingers of better times, various events, in themselves perhaps unimportant, yet telling clearly that the utility of the monastic system is becoming more generally acknowledged: among these may be mentioned the late discussion at the Union at Cambridge. The subject proposed was to the effect that, 'The dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII, has been highly injurious to this country, and the circumstances of the time imperatively demand the restoration of similar institutions.' After a debate for three evenings, eighty-eight declared in favour of the motion; and it was thus carried by a majority of twenty-eight votes.

Appendix to Article on the "Religious and Social Condition of France."

IN writing the foregoing article, we were not aware that the "Association of St. Vincent of Paul" had attained such an extensive organization as we now find it has reached; for there is not a city of any importance in France, where filiations of this institution are not to be found. The Society of St. Francis Regis, for legitimatizing the marriages of the poor, which has been attended with such blessed effects in France and Belgium, we regret in the press of matter to have passed over. Lastly, the most important association of all—that for the propagation of the faith—it was almost culpable on our part to have omitted: for though the objects of its interest and its activity lie beyond the circle of France, yet for the resuscitation of religious zeal, piety, and charity, in the interior of that great country, no institution has exerted a more salutary influence. As respects the religious and social condition of the lower classes in France, this is a subject which, had space permitted, we would fain have enlarged on at greater length. It is but just to notice, that in the French factories the hours of labour, for adults as well as minors, have been abridged; and that facilities for the religious and secular instruction of the latter have in many instances been willingly afforded by the master manufacturers. Thus we happen to know that, two years ago, in the great manufacturing province of Alsace, the heads of factories, Protestant as well as Catholic, set in this respect a most noble example. They agreed to give up a whole day's work, in order that the children in their several establishments might receive the sacrament of confirmation; and they assured the bishop of Strasburg, Dr. Räss, that in respect to the religious instruction of the minors in their employ, they would cheerfully lead his clergy every encouragement and aid.

There were several other topics connected with the important subject discussed in the foregoing article, and which we purposed noticing in this postscript, when we accidentally fell on an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, which corroborated our own views and statements, and supplied details with which we were previously unacquainted. This journal being noted for its general tone of religious indifference, it is probable that on this matter its assertions will carry greater weight with some of our Protestant readers than any statements we could put forth; and for this reason, we shall,

accordingly, insert the following remarkable passage on the moral and intellectual regeneration now going on in France:—

(Extract from the Revue des deux Mondes.)

"In various ways has the resuscitation of Catholic principles evinced itself in literature. In several cities we have seen established, on the model of the learned society attached to the Catholic University of Louvain, Catholic academies, whose members are principally composed of young men, and whose object it is to convert to Catholicism the active scientific talent of the country. Thus, for instance, in Paris we find the 'Cercle Catholique,' the 'Institut Catholique,' the "Conférence de Saint Vincent de Paul," and in Lyons, the 'Institut Catholique.'

"Still more efficacious aid does the Propaganda find in associations for the diffusion of good books, and in special printing-presses, which are partly under the management of ecclesiastics. Thus the Abbé Migné founded, in the year 1840, at Petit Montrouge, a printing establishment, which in the very first year gave occupation to one hundred and forty workmen, and is destined to publish an entire Encyclopædia of Catholic science. The churches of Saint Sulpice and Saint Thomas d'Aquin, possess at present parochial libraries, and the Catholic press seems to rival in activity that of the Bible Societies. This book-trade, which has now passed through the severest crisis, has its principal seats at Paris, Lyons, and Tours. In Paris generally appear the great collections, the splendid editions, the illustrated Bibles and Gospels; at Lyons are published the cheaper editions, and such as are destined for the people. The average amount of annual Catholic publications throughout all France, dating from the year 1835, is as follows:— Learned theological works, 25; catechisms and collections of sermons, 50; apologetical and mystical works, 290; philosophy, 8; lives of saints, 40; church history, 60; religious productions in the belles lettres, 35. Sum total, 508.

"The prayer-books used in Divine worship, are not included in this list; but the works above enumerated exceed in the number of copies the productions of all other presses, with the exception of the University press. Independently of the public demand, as well as of the cheapness of the price, this extraordinary activity of the religious press must also be ascribed to the perseverant zeal of the clergy. There are in several seminaries, so-called *boutiques*, (this is the standing name), which provide for the literary wants of their respective dioceses. The advertisements are stuck up at the church-door; and the sale at times takes place in the sacristy. Many brotherhoods are engaged in the dissemination of this literature. Thus, at Avignon, we find among the Augustinians, by the side of the brother Hermits and Hospitallers, missionaries for the spread of good books.

"The fine arts, as well as literature, have felt the influence of this revival of Catholicism. In the *exhibition* for the year 1833, there were but twenty paintings which would have been suited for churches; in the year 1838, however, we find eighty-six religious pictures; and in the year 1842, one hundred and sixty-one. In architecture the reaction is still more perceptible, and has conferred essential service on art itself. Christian iconography has been raised to the rank of a new science; and in the seminaries, courses of lectures have been opened on Christian Archæology. Nay, even in the building of churches, we have seen a return of the middle age. Thus, on the hill of 'Bonne Espérance,' near Ronen, a chapel is building in honour of the Virgin Mary; the workmen on certain days give their gratuitous labour, and the archbishop and the prefect make presents of windows, on the sole condition, that their armorial bearings should be represented thereon.

"But the religious sentiment of the 19th century has its practical side also. Appalled at the misery which unavoidably follows in the train of civilization; appalled at the harshness of legal beneficence, as well as at the often apparent impotence of philanthropy, the faithful at the present day often devote themselves to the practice of works of Christian charity. And while the reformers of materialism dazzle the people with a fantastic paradise, Piety, more simple and humble, stretches forth a succouring hand to abandoned indigence. Even the coldest and most indifferent minds cannot withhold from such exertions their meed of applause, and will be disposed to pardon this incursion into the domain of secular affairs. In Paris, numerous associations, composed of individuals out of all classes, devote themselves to these objects; and a filial establishment of the society of St. Francis Regis, destined for bringing about the legitimacy of children, and for procuring to those irregular connexions so frequent among the lower orders, the civil sanction and the ecclesiastical benediction: a filial establishment of this society, we say, has been established even at Constantinople. In this department, we rarely witness the operation of any exclusive sectarian views or efforts. But by the side of these, there are other special associations, whose main business is proselytism. The most important of these is 'the Society for the Propagation of the Faith,' which by prayers and pecuniary contributions, supports the Foreign Missions. * * * In Paris, every parish has its own confraternity.* The most important, 'the arch-confraternity of the Sacred Heart,' conducted by the Abbé Desgenettes, reckons, in the capital alone, fifty thousand members.

* In the memorial addressed, in the month of March of the present year, to the Chamber of Peers, by the archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans on the new education bill, it is stated that almost every parish throughout France has its confraternity.

The political opinions of its head are as widely remote as heaven and earth, from the doctrines of the revolution ; and yet it counts very many republican members, and has christianized the remnants of the 'Society of the Rights of Men,' and the dilapidated of the Archiepiscopal palace.

"Even monasticism is spreading. The severest order, that of La Trappe, has numerous houses ; and in France, within less than twenty-five years, more nunneries have been founded than in the whole course of the seventeenth century.

"The religious communities that devote themselves to the education of the working classes, are daily on the increase ; and the Brothers of Christian Doctrine in three hundred and eighty-two establishments, impart gratuitous instruction to more than one hundred and sixty-four thousand scholars."

LIST OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF FEMALES IN FRANCE.

1. *Daughters of the Holy Cross*, founded in the year 1628. Their principal object is the education of poor girls. They possess only one house.

2. *Dames of St. Maur*, founded in the year 1666, by Father Barré, a Minorite. They devote themselves at present to the care of the sick in the colonies of Cayenne and Guiana. They take no vows.

3. *Sisters of Mary's Sacrifice*.—This congregation sprang up during the present century in the rude mountains of the Cevennes. Its foundress was Maria Rivier, and it is devoted to the care of poor children. No solemn vows are taken. They now possess upwards of sixty houses in the three neighbouring dioceses.

4. *The Ursuline Ladies of Chavagnes*.—They are spread through La Vendée, Poitou, and Saintange. They keep schools for poor children, and very well-conducted houses of education for the higher classes.

5. *Sisters of St. Andrew*, founded in 1806. They are confined chiefly to the diocese of Poitiers. Their object is the same as that of the last-named congregation.

6. *Sisters of the Infancy of Jesus and Mary*.—They owe their rise to the enlightened zeal of the venerable bishop of Metz, Monseigneur Jauffret, in the year 1806. They possess five-and-twenty houses in the dioceses of Metz, Reims, and Chalons. They are constantly reminded of their calling by the words engraven on the cross which hangs on their breast: "Pauperes evangelizantur : Caritas Dei urget nos."

7. *Dames of Loretto*.—They are established at Bourdeaux ; and their object is to train up poor girls for domestic service. They take them from the age of fifteen, instruct them in all things appertaining to household economy, impart to them solid religious

instruction, and then recommend them to good families. They have a house at Paris and one at Strasburg.

8. *Daughters of the sacred heart of Mary.*—They have lately sprung up at Poitou, and have the same object as the last-named congregation.

9. *Sisters of Providence.*—There are various branches of this congregation, known by the names of Sisters of St. Charles, and Sisters of St. Andrew. They are spread over many departments, and direct a great number of girls' schools.

10. *Congregation of our Blessed Lady of St. Forerius.*—This congregation was founded at the commencement of the sixteenth century, by the blessed Forerius. It has ever rendered the greatest services to education, and, before the French Revolution, was widely diffused in France and even Germany. It has still flourishing establishments in Lorraine and Alsace, where girls of the higher classes receive an excellent and very cheap education, and also schools, where the poor receive gratuitous instruction.

11. *Dames of the sacred Heart of Jesus*, founded since the year 1814.—This institution is intended to afford education to young ladies of the upper classes of society; and so well have they fulfilled their task, that, as is generally admitted, nowhere are girls better grounded in their faith, and trained up to exercises of piety, nor receive more solid instruction and brilliant accomplishments than in the establishments conducted by this sisterhood. Among their members are found ladies of illustrious birth and most extraordinary talents. No secular institution, in any point of view, can compete with them. The parent house is at Paris, but in many large cities of France they have establishments.

FEMALE INSTITUTIONS DEVOTED TO THE CARE OF THE SICK AND THE IMPRISONED.

1. *Congregation of the Mercy of Jesus*, founded in the year 1630.—This congregation follows the rule of St. Augustine, and has been approved by the Holy See. In the last century they directed four-and-twenty hospitals; and such was the universal estimation wherein they were held, that when the revolutionary decrees expelled them from the hospitals, they nevertheless were enabled to prosecute in quiet their vocation of charity, and render many services to the poor.

2. *Sisters of Charity*, daughters of St. Vincent of Paul: founded in the year 1633.—This very wide-spread, meritorious congregation owes its origin to the Saint whose name it bears; aided as he was, by the blessed Madame Le Gras, whose maiden name was Louise de Marillac. In its origin, it consisted entirely of associations of pious secular ladies, who devoted themselves to the visiting of the sick; but, in order to give to the institution a solid existence,

it was found expedient to select pious virgins, who should devote themselves to the service of the sick, the care of foundlings, and also to culprits; for this triple object did the institute embrace. Such was the origin of the famous order of "*Sœurs de la Charité*." And, as if this sphere of activity were not sufficiently large, all their spare time they employed in the instruction of poor children. At the end of the last century, the congregation numbered four hundred and twenty-six houses, in various cities of France. After its destruction, by the revolutionary tempest, the order was restored in the time of Buonaparte, and has ever since been waxing in extent and vigour, till at the present time it reckons three hundred houses, wherein three thousand sisters are employed.

The zeal, the unwearied activity, of these sisters are above praise. They are the most experienced nurses; they are called in cases of sickness to most houses of the great; and the humble sister, who, a moment before, stood by the death-bed of the poor labourer, now renders the same service to the mighty one of the earth. She prepares for the priest the way to the patient's heart; she knows how to seize the favourable moment, and her inventive love refutes the principles of infidelity, which, on the bed of illness, by the mild suggestions of the sister turns to seek the consolations of religion.

By the side of this great congregation, whose parent house is at Paris, and which extends over many departments, numerous filiations have since sprung up, which, independent of each other, labour for the common end. This is a consoling sign, and insures to France the title it has acquired of being the classic soil of Christian charity. These congregations we will now briefly name.

3. *Hospital Sisters of St. Joseph*, at Bourg, in the diocese of Belley: founded in the year 1673.—They dedicate themselves chiefly to the care of the sick, and possess upwards of eighty houses.

4. *Hospital Sisters at Besançon*: founded in 1685.—Since the year 1807, they have formed themselves anew, in conformity to their ancient rules, and serve at present twelve hospitals in the diocese.

5. *Hospital Sisters of St. Martha*.—They are spread over many dioceses. Many of these congregations of Martha have undertaken the duty of the instruction of children. But their principal occupation is the care of the sick and the poor.

6. *Hospital Sisters of Strasburg, Sisters of Mercy at Bourges, Sisters of Mercy at Besançon, Sisters of Mercy at Tours*;—these congregations all devote themselves to the care of the sick; and some superintend, with admirable skill, various houses of correction and asylums of lunatics.

7. *Hospital Sisters of St. Thomas of Villanova*, founded in the year 1660, by the celebrated archbishop of Valencia, and introduced

into France by Father Angelus de Proust.—The sisters follow the rule of St. Augustine, and are under the immediate jurisdiction of the archbishop of Paris.

8. *Daughters of Wisdom*, founded in 1716.—After the great congregation of the *Sisters of Charity*, the above-named is the most numerous and the most extended. The sisters have their allotted sphere of activity; they serve the naval hospitals of almost all the maritime ports of France, even that of the galley-slaves; and at Toulon all the hospitals are entrusted to their care. They have also undertaken the direction of the deaf-and-dumb institute, in the Chartreuse of Auray, where they have adopted the method of the Abbé Sicard, and are a real blessing to the country where they are established. They possess about one hundred houses, and in Toulon, Brest, Boulogne, Cherbourg, Nantes, their communities are the most numerous.

9. *Sisters of St. Joseph at Lyons*.—This association owes its origin to the zealous Abbé Cholleton, who not long ago died vicar general of the diocese. The members devote themselves to the service of prisoners, and often share their society, in order to provide the better for their spiritual and bodily necessities. They have established, at Montauban, a house of refuge, under the name of St. Magdalen's solitude, for such female culprits as have been liberated from prison, and where they receive employment, and are guarded against the danger of relapse.

10. *Association of our blessed Lady of good Succour*: founded some years ago by a pious lady at Paris, Mme. de Montal, and encouraged by the late excellent archbishop of Paris, M. de Quélen.—The object is to procure pious and capable nurses for the sick.

11. *Sisters of the Deaf-and-dumb*: founded fifty years ago by a female disciple of the celebrated Abbé de l'Epée.—Mlle. Bluin outlived the stormy period of the revolution, and in order to insure stability to the institute, formed an association of pious maidens, who gave themselves up entirely to the study of signs. An ordinance of the government has decreed, that fourteen circumjacent departments should defray the expense of educating six-and-thirty deaf-and-dumb children. But this is not the complete number of the pupils; the spirit of order and economy enables the ladies to impart to other poor children the blessings of this institution.

MIXED CONGREGATIONS.

A few only of the religious institutes are exclusively engaged with one kind of good works. Charity hath this peculiarity, that it sets no bounds to its beneficence—it does good, where good is to be done. Those corporations, whose business is more particularly the care of the poor and the sick, or who dedicate themselves to the service of the imprisoned, find often an opportunity to cut off

the root of all evil—spiritual ignorance, and in consequence to impart religious instruction to children. But the object, for which the society was called into existence, ever remains the principal matter, which distinguishes one congregation from the other.

But there exist other, which conformably to their rules, propose a double or triple end in view. We must now briefly describe them.

1. *Daughters of St. Geneviève*: founded in the year 1636.—They arose in the time of St. Vincent of Paul, and received from their second foundress the name of Miramions. Their sphere of activity is in and about Paris. Without taking vows, they live in community, and are ever ready to perform every good work. They conducted formerly a hundred schools. In the *Hotel-Dieu*, they attended to the sick, collected alms, contributed their own share, and solaced the infirm and the suffering. Their institute has been re-established, after having been the first to experience the toleration of the philosophic age. History has recorded, with what revolting violence they were expelled from that hospital which had long witnessed their self-devotion, while, to the violation of all decency, they were beaten with rods!

2. *Daughters of the good Redeemer*, at Caen, founded in 1720.—This congregation, which has ever been a blessing to the land, has within the last thirty years received a greater extension. Its object is various, and the institute is divided into several distinct parts. In the lunatic asylum, two hundred patients are served, by the religious, with a love and devotedness which Christianity only can suggest; and their treatment is often very successful. In the infirmary, persons afflicted with all sorts of disorders receive the kindest attention. Medicines and broths are distributed, and the ladies carry the most necessary articles to the sick of the town. In the deaf-and-dumb institute, there are sixty children, who are instructed according to a method discovered by the zealous Abbé Janet. With instruction manual labour is also combined: many learn trades, and remain as work-people in the convent. Lastly, a very excellent school is opened for young ladies; gratuitous schools are also annexed to the establishment, and young women, who wish to pass their life in retirement, are received on very moderate terms, and occupy separate apartments.

3. *Sisters of Mercy of Evron*, founded in the year 1679.—The diocese of Mans enjoys the inestimable advantage of possessing this numerous congregation. The number of houses amounts to one hundred and seventy-five, whereof a great number are in the diocese of Mans, the others in those of Sens, Rennes, and Angers. Twenty-five hospitals are served by these sisters.

Their statutes deserve being made known. The diocesan bishop is their superior; the lady abbess is elected for three years. The sisters must under no pretext transfer their property to the community. They come in poor, remain poor, and whenever, for any reason, they retire into the bosom of their families, they find their

patrimony again. They make no vows; they merely promise, on admission, entire obedience to their superior, so long as they remain members of the community. The noviceship lasts five years. Besides the active duties of their calling, they devote a certain time to meditation, spiritual exercises of novices, silence, prayer, and pious reading. They recite on Sundays and festivals the offices of the blessed Virgin and the penitential psalms. They also observe the excellent custom of yearly spiritual retreats.

4. *Daughters of St. Charles Borromeo.*—This congregation is very much spread in the diocese of Nancy, where it possesses about sixty houses. Many girls' schools, and almost all the hospitals, are entrusted to their care. They moreover visit the sick in their private dwellings, and minister medicine gratuitously. They direct also the lunatic asylums at St. Nicholas and Mareville.

5. *Sisters of St. Joseph.*—Their parent house is at Cluny, in the diocese of Autun. They dedicate themselves to education and the care of the sick. They are particularly active in the French colonies; we find them in Guadeloupe and Martinique, in French Guiana, in the East Indies, in Bourbon, and in Senegal. They have recently sent a colony to Algiers.

6. In the dioceses of Limoges, and that of Nevers and the neighbouring districts, we find congregations, which combine the duties of education and the visiting of the sick.

7. *Ladies of the adorable Sacrament of the Altar.*—They are established in the dioceses of Arras, Valence, Meude, and Avignon. Each community has a free school and a poor-house. The diocese of Valence possesses also the *Dames of the blessed Trinity*: a congregation which is numerous and extends over many departments. Their occupations are instruction and the care of the sick.

8. *Dames of good Succour* in the diocese of Toulouse.—This community embraces every work of charity; and among its members are to be found ladies of the most distinguished families. Toulouse possesses many laudable institutions which attest the active zeal of the inhabitants of that great city. We need only mention the association of *Ladies of the dolours of Mary*, who, with singular self-devotion, perform the duties of instruction and attendance on the sick.

9. *Dames of the good Shepherd.*—This institute was established by the blessed Father Eudes, about the middle of the seventeenth century. Its object, as is well known, is to bring back fallen women to virtue. The principal house is at Paris. Great and various are their services to society; and His Holiness himself expressed a wish to see a like institute established at Rome—a wish which was complied with by the lady superiors at Angers.

LIST OF THE TEACHING RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF MEN IN FRANCE.

1. *Lazarists*: founded in the seventeenth century, by St. Vin-

cent of Paul.—Their triple object is instruction of the peasantry—direction of ecclesiastical seminaries—and conversion of the heathen. They possess, at present, several communities, and direct fourteen colleges and seminaries; but their principal field of exertion is in foreign missions,—a field, where, since the suppression of the Jesuits, they are the most active, zealous, and intelligent labourers. They now constitute one of the noblest ornaments of the Church of France.

2. *Seminary of foreign Missions, Congregation of Picpus, and Congregation of our blessed Lady.*—These three congregations are exclusively designed for training up priests and lay brothers for the foreign missions. The seminary of foreign missions sprang up almost simultaneously with the society of Lazarists, shortly after the erection of the bishopric of Babylon, in the year 1638. This congregation numbers a great many excellent and indefatigable missionaries. It possesses spiritual jurisdiction over the missions of Siam, Tonking, Cochin China, and a part of China; as also over Pondicherry and the coast of Coromandel. It has rendered the most essential service to the Church in the United States of America. The *Congregations of Picpus and of our blessed Lady* have sprung up in more modern times. To these two societies the Holy See has entrusted the missions in the Eastern and Western Oceanica, where, thanks to the intrepid and indefatigable zeal of their holy envoys, and in despite of much persecution on the part of the English and Protestant ministers, the faith has made very wonderful progress.

3. *Sulpicians*: founded in the seventeenth century by the venerable priest Olier.—The object of this congregation is to rear pious and learned secular priests for the Church. This congregation has ever exerted the greatest influence on the Church of France; and, after the great revolution, was re-established by the venerable Emery. It was in this seminary the great Fenelon received his theological education. The parent house is at Paris, but in the provinces there are seminaries conducted by the Sulpicians.

4. *Brothers of the Christian Schools*: founded in the year 1679, by the venerable Abbé de la Salle.—In the year 1724, Pope Benedict XIII solemnly confirmed this institute and its statutes. The founder seeing that though girls' schools were confided to the care of devout and religious women, the schools for poor boys were destitute of this advantage, resolved, in order to supply this want, to establish the congregation in question. The *Brothers of the Christian Schools* had to encounter violent opposition on the part of the lay schoolmasters; but, supported by the approbation of the bishops, they overcame every obstacle. When the congregation was suppressed by the revolutionists, in the year 1790, it possessed, in France alone, one hundred and twenty houses, wherein

one thousand brothers imparted religious and civil instruction. Under Buonaparte the order was re-established ; during the restoration it became flourishing ; and, after having sustained a violent, but temporary persecution, in the calamitous year 1830, it now possesses two hundred and fifty houses in France, rises every day higher in public estimation, and has attained to a greater degree of prosperity than at any former period. Children are gratuitously taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the elements of drawing, and are admirably grounded in religion, and trained up to virtuous habits.

5. *Brothers of Mary.*—This congregation has precisely the same object, as the great community of which we have been speaking. Its labours are confined to the city of Bordeaux and the neighbouring provinces, where many popular schools are placed under its direction.

6. *Brothers of Christian Instruction* : founded in the present age by the pious Abbé Jean de la Mennais, brother to the once celebrated writer.—The regulation of Abbé de la Salle, whereby two brothers at least must superintend every school, having proved onerous to the poorer and remoter districts, the Abbé Jean de la Mennais has modified the rule, so as to permit a single brother to direct the school, where the commune is unable to provide for the maintenance of two. This congregation, as we ourselves can attest from personal experience, has produced the most blessed fruits in Bretagne, the founder's native province. It has since been transplanted into other provinces of France.

7. *Brothers of St. Joseph* : founded by the Abbé Dufarrié, in the present century. This congregation, like the preceding, has popular instruction for its object ; but its members, moreover, conduct the sacred chant, and attend the curate in the administration of the sacraments. This congregation is spread over several dioceses ; the members take no vows, but merely make a promise to obey the bishop of the diocese, so long as they remain in community.

MALE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES FOR THE CARE OF THE SICK.

There is in France but one religious institute of the "*Brothers of Mercy.*"—The female congregations are generally more useful ; hence they are more multiplied.

1. Order of the *Brothers of Mercy* : founded in the year 1572, by St. John of God, who placed the same under the rule of St. Augustine.—The brothers devote themselves to the care of the sick, and especially that of the insane. After the revolution, this order was resuscitated by some pious laymen ; and at present the brothers serve several hospitals and lunatic asylums in various cities, such as Marseilles, St. Croix near Salons, Chayla, Lyons,

Nantes, and Montbrison. They lead a very mortified life, and their food and clothing are extremely coarse and simple.

In order to devote themselves the better to their ministry of love, their spiritual exercises are not very numerous; yet they daily recite the office of the blessed Virgin, and have community of prayer, daily meditation, and one spiritual lecture. Their most distinguished subjects repair to Paris, and follow the lectures of the medical faculty. In the treatment of the insane, they have often been eminently successful.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"Did the Early Church, acknowledge the Pope's supremacy? answered in A Letter to Lord John Manners, from Daniel Rock, D.D." London: Dolman.

It is lamentable to see how persons of the best intentions will let themselves be deceived, when they have taken a false position, and try to maintain it. The *Neo-Anglicans* of our times, have formed for themselves a theoretical religion, into which they will admit just so much of Catholic ingredients as meets their views, and shut out all the rest: just as much authority, as much unity, as *much pope*, as will allow them to call themselves Catholics, without putting themselves into communion with the Catholic Church. We do not say that all, or most of them, act thus wittingly and purposely. But the theory once formed, those who take it up, see all things through it; they seem to read antiquity with a twofold vision,—a Protestant and a Catholic eye,—and thus make inexplicable confusion. Some would have confession by all means, but not as of positive obligation; others would have a supremacy, but not as of ecclesiastical institution. Those who come into the theory after it is made, take it for granted, and are satisfied that facts must be in accordance with it. Hence, any assertion which agrees with it, is assumed to be true, and adopted without further thought. Let us exemplify this by the case discussed in the able and satisfactory book before us. Men of Mr. Palmer's stamp, have laid it down as quite certain, that, though anciently all honour was paid to the bishop of Rome, as the first dignity of the Church, yet there was no idea of his supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church. This becomes a sort of received position or dogma of one section of *Anglo-Catholicism*, as it is called: and they who assume it, are prepared to find facts in accordance with it. A young nobleman cannot be supposed to study much theology, nor to pry into the remoter works of ecclesiastical history, and the "*secretum Oceani*," as St. Prosper calls Ireland, may well have eluded his researches. But, with the preconceived theory in his mind, he

readily gives assent to the proposition, wherever he finds it, that Ireland originally had no dependence on the Apostolic See, and was, no doubt, a flourishing, but independent, "branch of the Church of Christ," till the time and conquest of the second Henry.

Such, unfortunately, has been the case with one of the most amiable, upright, and generous upholders of the new system, of one whose character and accomplishments have won for him the esteem of all that know him, and whose writings have gained him a just reputation with the wise and the good. Lord John Manners, deceived by the testimony of O'Driscoll,—a Catholic, indeed, by profession, but as an historian, we believe, of no value,—has been betrayed into proclaiming, before the willing ear of our motley House of Commons, as an avowed historical fact, that from St. Patrick's time till 1172, the Irish Church recognized not the supremacy of the pope. We will, however, allow Dr. Rock to state the case:—

"Under no slight feelings of grief, was it, therefore, my Lord, that I read some passages in the otherwise admirable speech, which you are reported to have delivered during the debate (June 19th, 1843) on 'The Irish Arms Bill,' in the House of Commons. You are there made to say, that 'If there be one fact in Irish history more clear than another, it is, that the Roman Catholic Church was not the Church of the Irish people originally: that Church was for hundreds of years independent of Rome, and it was not till an English king conquered Ireland, that the supremacy of the pope was acknowledged by it.'

"To bear yourself through such an assertion, your Lordship leans upon the weak and yesterday's authority of a modern Irish writer; for you go on to observe:—'This, Sir, is no curious opinion, tortured out of obscure records, but is a received fact, stated in strong terms, among other historians, by Mr. O'Driscoll, a Roman Catholic himself: I believe Mr. O'Driscoll says,—'There is something very singular in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The Christian Church of that country, as founded by St. Patrick and his predecessors, existed for many ages free and unshackled. It had no connection with England, and differed upon points of importance with Rome. The first work of Henry II, was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman pontiff. Accordingly he procured a council of the Irish clergy to be held at Cashel, in 1172, and the combined influence and intrigues of Henry and the pope prevailed. This council put an end to the ancient Church of Ireland, and submitted it to the yoke of Rome. From the days of St. Patrick, to the council of Cashel, was a bright and glorious career for Ireland. From the sitting of this council to our time, the lot of Ireland has been universal evil, and all her history a tale of woe.'"—p. 2-3.

We have said that this misrepresentation was "unfortunate."

We are not, however inclined so utterly to regret it. The reply which it has called forth from Dr. Rock will far more than compensate for the error which has been committed. Even looking to Lord John Manners himself (and he is a person whom it is worth any trouble to undeceive), he might have remained under the mistake into which O'Driscoll had led him, had he not given such public utterance to it, as called for its refutation. And so much reliance have we upon his honourable mind, that we feel confident that he will not rest till he has well weighed its powerful arguments, and, if convinced of them, will avow his conviction of his error. Many others, too, we trust, who have heard the charge, will read its answer, and will be certainly disabused.

In fact, at a moment when the question of the papal supremacy is agitating, as we know, the minds of many, such a triumphant discussion of it in any given sphere, as Dr. Rock's pamphlet presents, must do much towards urging satisfactory conclusions respecting the dogma itself. When one finds the claims of the apostolic see so fully vindicated and established upon a disputed territory, one may well work backwards from fact to theory, from the special case to the general principle, and conclude that, if in Ireland, so remote, so partially illustrated, the power of the Roman pontiff was so well understood and acknowledged, the intermediate territory must have been subject to the same law, and have been the connecting medium between the two extremes in their sensitive communication. Dr. Rock has not contented himself with a general, or vague, discussion of his subject; to use, perhaps, a French phrase, it is a *conscientious* work: he has divided the erroneous assertions of his noble antagonist into parts, and gone fully and learnedly into the confutation of each. Indeed his book, though consisting of upwards of 170 pages, does not exhaust the matter, but closes with promise of a further inquiry, into other religious doctrines and practices of the early Irish Church. Instead, however, of following him step by step, we will give his own summary of his proofs.

"Before we part, however, allow me, my lord, to call your attention to the objects most worthy of notice, that we met with as we travelled over this very interesting question. I took upon myself to tell your lordship, most respectfully, that you were wrong in the ideas you had framed in your own mind concerning the belief and practices of the early Church in Ireland, especially so with regard to the question of the papal supremacy; and I assured you, if you would go along with me through the documents of antiquity, you would soon arrive at other and more correct notions on all these points. Now, what did we meet, the first step we took at starting on this road of this enquiry? The important fact, that 'the Irish Church was founded by a Pope,' whose name was Celestine, and who employed for that glorious work those holy men St. Palladius and St. Patrick. Moving a little further on the same path, another

great fact caught our eyes ; and we saw—‘The Irish Church, who received her first bishop from Rome, not only always acknowledging, but yielding obedience to, the papal supremacy.’ Here it was that we became acquainted with that illustrious Irish monk St. Columbanus ; who, when we asked him if he and his countrymen believed in the pope’s supremacy, seemed to exhaust all the powers of language, and to put forth all his strength, for the purpose of deeply impressing on our minds, his own and his country’s most hearty assent to this article of Catholic faith. If less warm, the words uttered by St. Cummian were not less strong in expressing the same Catholic truth on behalf of Ireland. Then we witnessed how, on the Easter question, ‘The popes claimed and exercised, without being gainsaid, their spiritual supremacy over the early Church in Ireland.’ But as we were wending forwards on our way, we overtook missionary after missionary—all Irish, or bred, at least, from their childhood, under Irishmen, or in Ireland, and, therefore, Irish in their feelings and learning—quickenings their pace onwards to Rome, ‘to do homage to the pope, and crave his apostolic leave and blessing, before they went and preached to the heathen.’ SS. Kilian and Willibrord were among these messengers of glad tidings. We lighted, too, upon our own far-famed countryman Alcuin ; who was so full of praises of Irish faith and Irish learning, and who spoke out so unequivocally in favour of the papal supremacy. But besides Irish apostolic missionaries, we met with Irish pilgrims—bishops, abbots, churchmen of all degrees—all hurrying to get the papal blessings ; but some drawn by ecclesiastical business, as well as devotion, to the holy see. Here it was, we could not help crying out aloud that, besides paying obedience to the papal supremacy, ‘the early Church in Ireland, from its very beginning, has been closely united with the pope.’ Furthermore, when we turned our footsteps in another direction, we saw Irish bishops, Irish kings and princes, not merely uniting themselves by friendship, but putting themselves under canonical obedience to such men as Lanfranc and St. Anselm ; and asking these celebrated archbishops of Canterbury, because they acknowledged them to be invested with the delegated authority of the Roman see, to act for them and Ireland in certain grave matters. Soon afterwards, we found a pope’s legate living constantly in the Irish Church, and that such a high office was successively occupied by Gilbert of Limerick, St. Malachy of Armagh, and Christianus of Lismore. But to have the fulness of honour, the Irish Church asked and obtained of the popes the privilege of the pall for her archbishops, who were invested with this ornament of dignity, by the hands of a Roman cardinal sent for that especial purpose by the pope, to Ireland ; and that all this took place many years before Henry II went to Ireland, or the council of Cashel was held.

“ With these circumstances before you, I shall be much mistaken

if your lordship does not now quite agree with me in saying, that 'if there be one fact in Irish history more clear than another, it is that the Roman Catholic Church was always the Church of the Irish people, and originally; that Church was always bound to Rome; and just as much before, as after an English king conquered Ireland, was the supremacy of the pope acknowledged by it.'—p. 151-154.

The materials which Dr. Rock has collected to make good his position, are drawn from sources not much studied, and not within common reach. In this respect, the pamphlet may fairly be considered one of great research, and has the merit of bringing prominently before the public eye many authorities till now little noticed, and not at all known in controversial works. Some of these are to us interesting beyond their theological value, as so thoroughly characteristic, and stamped with genuine Irish feeling. Who will not know at once that it was an Irishman, aye, a thorough Milesian, who, twelve hundred years ago, addressed the pope in these words: "To the most beautiful head of all the Churches of the whole of Europe; to the very sweet pope;" surely it should have been "the darling pope."—p. 45.

These are the words of St. Columbanus, whose style, from beginning to end, proves how truly the property of the soil or climate of Erin is the warm out-pouring of enthusiastic thoughts, and the brilliant succession of glowing ideas.

We begin to believe that the Catholic body is gradually fitting itself for any possible struggle—theological, or historical, or antiquarian—with the learning of its antagonists. The present work is to us a new element of our hopes, a fresh encouragement to our exertions.

Preparing for publication, in 2 vols. 4to.

"*The Annals of the four Masters, from A.D. 1172 to the conclusion, in 1616. Consisting of the Irish texts from the original MS. and an English translation, with copious explanatory notes.*" By John O'Donovan, Esq.

A FEW months ago a beautiful prospectus of this work was issued, announcing, among other things, that until two hundred subscribers, six guineas each, offered themselves, the publishers could not risk the heavy charges of publication. Lists of the subscribers appeared from time to time, and on the last, which amounted to more than one hundred and sixty, are found, besides the names of persons of different political parties, the names of six or seven Catholic bishops, and of as many prelates of the Established Church. The work will immediately go to press. Our readers are aware, perhaps, that of all our Irish annalists, the four masters are the most valuable. In the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* of Dr. O'Connor,

is found only the part of the four masters prior to 1172. The intended publication by Messrs. Hodges and Smith completes the work, and opens a new era in Irish history. The price is very high, which we regret, not because we think it too great, or even great enough, for the intended outlay, but because it confines the circulation of an invaluable document.

Abbé M'Geoghegan's History of Ireland; translated from the French. New edition, revised and corrected. Dublin.

EVERY person anxious for the diffusion of useful historical knowledge among the Irish people, will rejoice that a beautiful edition of Abbé M'Geoghegan's *History of Ireland*, has obtained a success almost unprecedented in the annals of Dublin publishing. The work eminently deserves its success. It is published in parts (4d. each), the 20th of which, bringing us to the reign of Elizabeth, has already appeared. The type, paper, form (octavo), double columns, are all highly creditable to the spirited publisher. If the intended continuation be at all worthy of the work, Abbé M'Geoghegan's history will be the most valuable Irish history that has yet been published. The Abbé, as our readers know, was chaplain to the Irish brigade, and for that very reason had the spirit, as well as the means, of writing a good popular history of his native land. No Irish library is perfect without Abbé M'Geoghegan.

The Cistercian Saints of England—St. Stephen Harding. London: 1844.

As the sound of water trickling down the face of a rock to a traveller in the desert, is the welcome music of this little volume, in the dreary regions of Anglican religious literature. Its subject is indeed one which, at first sight, may appear to savour of the rugged wilderness,—of forests and rocky fastnesses,—for it is the life of a Cistercian, nay, of the father of that severe order. It may seem to hold out but small promise of example or encouragement to the layman, and to possess but slight interest for the worldling. But on experiment we think it will not be found so: no one will read it without being charmed,—and surely to be charmed, even if only for a brief hour, with virtue in its noblest form, is no small benefit, especially in our days. The life of St. Stephen Harding will help to illustrate a principle which we have long learnt from the lives of Catholic ascetics, living or sainted, that the severity of true Christian self-denial, softens instead of hardening the feelings, and seems to deny to itself only that it may have more for others. The monks and hermits of romance are very different from those of history;

as much as Mr. Lewis's or Mr. Landseer's are from Pietro Perugino's. The heart that beat beneath the Cistercian habit had truly a mother's tenderness, and the look that glanced from below the cowl oftener melted through tears than flashed in lightning.

This is the charm of St. Stephen's life; it is a life swelling with the affections, exquisitely graced with all that is gentle, amiable, sweet, yet withal so pure, so spiritual and angelic, that its austerity and mortification seem but as a necessary part and attribute of a character more belonging to a heavenly, than to an earthly existence. Nor does he come before us as a singular being, alone of his kind, and passing like a meteor across his sphere. On the contrary, he seems intended only as the foster-father, or rather the true father in God and in the spirit, to one of the fairest and noblest of the Church's sons. Just as the venerable Stephen is decaying in earthly vigour and life, St. Bernard is springing up as a vigorous yet faultless sapling at his feet, intended soon to take his place, and almost his title of founder of his order. The early years of this wonderful man's religious life are blended with the later ones of Stephen's; and the grace and youthful beauty of the one bear well the venerable burthen of the other. To our imagination, it is a delicious picture, such as no human hand could paint. Stephen, now old and nearly blind, but sharp-sighted of soul, and peering into futurity, gazing with paternal fondness upon his disciple, in foresight of his future glories, and instilling into him the deep lessons of his saintly experience; and Bernard, with his glowing cheek and "dove-like eyes,"* looking up in reverence towards the holy sage, and, child-like, noting down thoughts that one day should flow in his own honied eloquence. But we must pause. May we have many such books, and may they not be barren! May writers and readers of them have their fitting grace; and may the prayers especially of Stephen and his disciple gain for the biographer and his master the grace of graces. Need we say more?

* "Apparebat in carne ejus gratia quædam, spiritualis tamen potius quam carnalis; in vultu velut claritas quædam præfulgebat, non terrena utique sed cœlestis; in oculis angelica quædam puritas et columbina simplicitas radiabat. Tanta erat interioris ejus hominis pulchritudo, ut evidentibus quibusdam indiciiis foras erumperet, et de cumulo internæ puritatis et gratiæ copiose perfusus, homo quoque exterior videretur. Corpus omne tenuissimum et sine carnibus erat, ipsi etiam subtilissima cutis, in genis modice rubens."—Vita a Gauf. lib. iii. c. i.

Note to page 204, on the subject of the Anglo-Hibernian Church, omitted in its proper place.

We cannot be supposed to mean that the Anglo-Hibernian Catholic Church became Protestant, knowing, as we do, that its members, in great part, lay and clerical, adhered to the ancient faith in common with the native Irish, and suffered for it with the same constancy. By the Anglo-Hibernian Church, whether before or after the Reformation,—we mean that which was identified with the English interest,—the members of which living in Ireland, supported, and were supported by, the English power. Such of them as embraced the Protestant Faith, constituted a Church vastly inferior in number to the Anglo-Hibernian Catholic Church of earlier date; the bulk of the Anglo-Irish, both clergy and laity, having been fused into one mass by the agency of religious persecution.

CONTENTS

OF

No. XXXII.

ART.	PAGE
I.—1. The Works of Gerald Griffin, Esq. London: 1842-3	
2. The Invasion. By the Author of the Collegians. London: 1832.	
3. Gisippus. A Play in Five Acts. By Gerald Griffin, Esq. Author of the Collegians. Second Ed. London: 1842	- 281
II.—Primitive Christian Worship: or the Evidence of Holy Scripture and the Church concerning the Invocation of Saints and Angels, and the Blessed Virgin Mary. By the Rev. J. Endell Tyler, B.D.	- 307
III.—1. Theses Theologicae de Deo Creatore ac Redemptore. Lovanii in Collegio Societatis Jesu. Louvain: 1842	
2. Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion. Delivered in Rome, by the Right Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D., Bishop of Melipotamus. London. Second Edition. 1842.	
3. Geology and Scripture. By Dr. Pye Smith. 1843.	
4. Recreations in Geology. By Rosina M. Zornlin. 1843.	
5. The Wonders of the Earth. By Professor Silliman. 1842.	- 345
IV.—Report of the Recent State Trials. Edited by Messrs. Armstrong and Trevor. Dublin: 1844.	- 373
V.—Hierologus; or, the Church Tourists. By the Rev. J. M. Neale. London: 1843.	- 394
VI.—De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites. Par le R. P. de Ravignan. Mémoire de M. Vatimesnil sur les Associations Religieuses non Autorisées. Third Edition. Paris: 1844.	- 407

CONTENTS.

- VII.—1. The Chinese War, with an Account of all the operations of the British Army, from the commencement to the Treaty of Nankin. By Lieut. J. Ouchterlony, F. G. S. Madras Engineers. London: 1844.
2. The Voyages and Services of the Nemesis, &c. &c. from the Notes of Commander W. Hall. By G. Bernard, M.A., Oxon. London: 1844. - - 444
- VIII.—1. Հոջա Ժրման Գրքի Երկրի ու ճան Լուսար ու Պոնժա Գրքիցն ի Տաշր-ի յո չափելիցե և Տաշար Գրքիցն Հաւա. No. 1, 2, 3. 1843.
2. Արքի Հոջա՞ն ու Երկրի ու ճան Լուսար Գրքիցն ի Տաշար-ի յո չափելիցե և Տաշար Գրքիցն Հաւա. 1844. - 463
- IX.—1. The Roman Pontifical for the use of the Laity. Latin and English. Derby.
2. Itinerarium Clericorum. Latin and English. 1844. 483
- X.—Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the facts relating to the Ordnance Memoir of Ireland. Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index, presented to both houses of Parliament by order of her Majesty - - 501
- XI.—Nunziatura in Irlanda, di Monsignor Gio-Battista Rinuccini, Arcivescovo di Fermo, negli anni 1645 a 1649, pubblicata per la prima volta su' MSS. originali della Rinucciniana, con documenti illustrativi. Per cura di G. Ajazzi, Bibliotecario della medesima. Firenze: 1844. - - - 519
- XII.—The Worship of the blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of Rome contrary to Holy Scripture, and to the Faith and Practice of the Church of Christ through the first five centuries. By J. Endell Tyler, B.D. - - - - 550
- Notices of Books. - - - -